California Historical Society Quarterly

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The Journal of Ernest de Massey, "A Frenchman in the Gold Rush," which was published in the *Quarterly* (Vol. V, No. 1, March, 1926, to Vol. VI, No. 1, March, 1927) has been reprinted by the Society at the request of numerous persons who desired to obtain it in the form of a single printed volume. This volume, bound in blue cloth and fully illustrated, is offered for sale by the Society at $4.00.

Reproductions of the twenty-four pencil sketches which accompanied "Jones' Pantoscope of California," illustrating the trip across the plains and scenes in California, 1850-51, are also available, at $2.00 per set. As only a few sets have been made up, no discount on these will be allowed to dealers.

Orders should be directed to the Secretary at the office of the Society, 301 Women's Building, 609 Sutter Street, San Francisco.

EDITOR'S NOTE

In this number of the *Quarterly* we resume the publication of Mr. Henry R. Wagner's annotated translations of accounts of Spanish voyages to the northwest coast in the sixteenth century, which was begun some years ago. Three of these have already appeared: Unamuno's voyage in July, 1923 (Vol. II, pp. 140-60), that of Cermeño in April, 1924 (Vol. III, pp. 3-24), and those of Ulloa and Bolaños in December, 1924 (Vol. III, pp. 307-97). It is now proposed to publish the others so far as known, beginning with that of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, to which the introductory material appears in this number. This will be followed in March by a new translation of the account of his voyage, with a facsimile of the original; and later by a series of chapters dealing with the occupation of the Philippines and the discovery of the return route; the plans of Juan de la Isla for exploring the northwest coast, and the voyage of Francisco Gali; concluding with the enterprises of Sebastian Vizcaino. The plan is to cover so far as known the entire series of voyages to the northwest coast in the sixteenth century.

The chapter numbers here used will conform to the chronological order in which these voyages took place, the omitted numbers corresponding to those of articles already published, Chapter I being Francisco de Ulloa and Chapter III, Francisco de Bolaños. The adoption of this plan is due to the fact that Mr. Wagner contemplates the publication as a separate work of the whole series of voyages, including both those which have already appeared in the *Quarterly* and those which we are about to publish.

CARL I. WHEAT.

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California Historical Society Quarterly

SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The Pacific Ocean or South Sea, as it was generally known for a long time, was discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1513. In accordance with the custom ruling in his day, he took possession of it for the Crown of Spain. As this sea was the scene of operations of the enterprises to be described in the following pages, a brief survey of the views current in the sixteenth century regarding it and its connections with the Atlantic is necessary.

The famed riches of Cathay and Great India were the prize all were now striving to reach. An active and constant search was kept up for some passage through a land to the west of Ireland which John Cabot had discovered and which barred his way to them. Magellan asserted that he knew another way and made his claim good by discovering the strait which now bears his name. By sailing across the Pacific he demonstrated that an open sea existed between the Moluccas and the New World, at least what was known of it when he left Spain. This was only a little of the west coast near Panama. The Pacific north of this was still to be discovered. How far did America extend to the west? Was it joined to Asia, or did a vast expanse of ocean or a narrow strait separate it from that country? The cosmographers speculated about these matters and recorded their guesses in their maps or in their writings. Those who considered it to be a vast peninsula of Asia based their arguments on Marco Polo's account of China which he described as extending far to the east, while those who thought it to be a true continent arrived at this conclusion by a course of abstract reasoning. The supposed connection with China had great vogue in the first half of the century, but opinion in Spain generally favored the continental theory. Alonso de Santa Cruz, the greatest Spanish cosmographer of the age, clearly held this view. If he did not display it on his maps it must have been because the practice then in force in the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, the geographic board of the day, was to put nothing but actual discoveries on the general map.

What was north of America was another matter of dispute. Some thought that around the Pole there was land connected either with Europe or Asia; some, open sea, a part of the Pacific; and others, four vast islands. Certainly a passage existed in the neighborhood of 65° of north latitude which, although blocked by ice, led somewhere or at least seemed to do so. This was commonly known as the Strait of Bacallaos or Northwest Passage. Sebastian Münster adopted the island theory and in 1540 laid down on his map a long passage leading to the Pacific between two of these and America on the

south. The notion of a great northern ocean with short passages connecting it with both the Atlantic and Pacific was a somewhat later development. On the earliest maps we see America in the higher latitudes displayed as a narrow continent, but as time went on and the Spaniards pushed their discoveries up the west coast its width was gradually increased until on the maps of Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius we see this grossly exaggerated. Clearly there were secrets to be discovered in the northern part of the South Sea.

When Hernando Cortés and his party of gold seekers landed on the coast of Mexico in March, 1519, he must have suspected that the South Sea was not far distant. The stirring events of the next two years, however, gave him no opportunity to institute a search for it, and it was not until after the conquest of the city in August, 1521, that he felt safe enough to separate his force and send out small bodies of men. Some of these reached the shores of the South Sea at the mouth of the Balsas River and at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec by the spring of the following year. What lay in that ocean was unknown, as we have just seen, and Cortés now set himself to find out. In June, 1522, he sent his secretary, Juan de Rivera, to Spain, and charged him with the duty of negotiating with the Emperor for a contract in his behalf to explore it. In a letter which he sent by Rivera, dated May 15, he referred especially to his discovery of the South Sea, and said that he was already building ships to navigate it.[1] Rivera did not reach Spain until November 7, and then found that on October 15 Cortés had been appointed captain-general of the country which he had discovered.[2] Just what steps he took to push this special interest of his patron is not apparent, further than that in July, 1523, he filed a petition which had evidently been forwarded to him from Mexico some time about March or April of that year, as it reveals the fact that when Cortés prepared it he knew of the cedula of October 15 of the preceding year.[3] He must also therefore have received the news of the arrival in Spain of Magellan's *Victoria* September 16, 1522. This gives us some clue to the views expressed by him in this petition about the geographical relation of New Spain to the Far East.

He began by stating that when he wrote two and one-half years before he had no information that there was any sea to the west, but had said that he would make every effort to find out if there was one.[4] Since that time he had discovered that sea and had found the distance across the country to be about 200 leagues. He had sent men to conquer and settle the provinces bordering on it and to discover its secrets, and was now building some brigantines to run along the coast searching for ports, and some ships to discover islands which would certainly be found in that sea within either a little or a great distance. He knew that the spice country, that is, the Moluccas, was near the Equator, and for that reason thought it would be very easy to reach from New Spain.[5] He therefore asked for a contract for six years commencing to run in 1522,[6] the year in which he had discovered the South Sea. During these years he would explore the coast of that sea for a distance of 400 leagues, or more if necessary, and would labor to find out what was there, what kind

of people there were on it, what trade they had, and which locality could be most conveniently settled in the shortest time. In return for these services he wished to be made governor for life of what he might discover, and after him his heirs and successors forever.

He asked for the tenth part for himself and his heirs of whatever gold, silver, pearls, or precious stones and other metals or other dutiable objects might be found. If he should discover three islands and settle them at his expense, making them available for Spanish trade, the King should grant one which he might select to him or his heirs, with the lordship and jurisdiction over it, but that if he should discover mainland only, then out of three towns thereon one should be his with the same rights as he would have over the island. He also requested some other privileges, some assistance in the way of arms and ship carpenters, and the right to bring horses and cattle from the West India Islands in His Majesty's ships without paying freight.

Nothing about his cosmographical ideas can be gathered from the document; nothing indicates what he expected to find when he followed the coast to the north for 400 leagues. On the whole, it might be considered that he had no expectation at that time of finding anything in particular. When, however, we come to investigate the contemporary documents which have survived, we shall find that the expeditions of Cortés had the very definite object of searching for gold and silver. The pursuit of the precious metals may be truthfully said to have been about the only business of the adventurers who flocked to the New World. It so happened that one of the first of the discoveries of Columbus, the Island of Hispaniola, had been found to contain gold. The washings were not very rich, to be sure, but rich enough to pay with forced labor at command. As the discovery of the mainland progressed, gold ornaments were found here and there, indicating that gold mines were not far away, and when Cortés embarked on his famous expedition to Mexico, he was accompanied by a band of individuals recruited in the main with no other object in view than gold.

There was gold in Mexico and some little silver, but it did not take long for the conquerors to appropriate the ornaments into which those metals had been made, no very great quantity, after all, although at first to them and their greedy eyes, unaccustomed to the sight of great sums of money, the amount seemed very large. No sooner had the conquest been effected than Cortés sent men out in every direction scouring the country in search of the gold mines from which the natives had obtained their supply. Some few were found, that is, gold washings in rivers and creeks, notably in the Balsas and its tributaries, and in some streams of Oaxaca. It can be no mere coincidence that Cortés' own *repartimientos* lay in the latter province and along the Balsas River. By forced labor of a large number of Indians some gold was extracted from such streams and other insignificant ones in different parts of the country, but, on the whole, the output was small and disappointing. A few mines of silver were soon discovered, but it was some time before silver mining became an important industry. In the meantime, the Spaniards in Mexico were ready to embark on

any enterprise which promised gold as a reward, and any story which seemed to hold forth the possibility of finding treasure met with ready acceptance.

Before the end of 1523 some of Cortés' captains had advanced along the west coast as far to the north as Colima, and a town bearing that name had been founded. Another, Zacatula, at the mouth of the Balsas River, had also been regularly established. Here Cortés maintained his shipbuilding operations for some time, but the difficulties of this enterprise at that time proved almost insuperable; there was nothing on the spot out of which to build ships except timber; everything else had to be brought from Mexico, and most of that, in turn, from Spain by way of Vera Cruz. June 26, 1523, the Emperor, under the impression that a strait existed somewhere to the north or northwest of Panama, sent an order to Cortés to hunt for it.[7]

By the time, however, that this reached Mexico, Cortés had doubtless ascertained by the explorations of Alvarado, who was descending the coast from the north, and by the report of Gil Gonzalez Davila, who had ascended it from the south,[8] that no such strait existed in that quarter. He therefore turned his attention for the moment to the possibility of there being one to the north, and announced in his letter of October 15, 1524,[9] his determined intention to find it. In order to make certain that it should not be missed, he proposed to send parties up both sides of America. Cortés' remarks about the existence of this strait are ambiguous. He apparently had no great expectation of finding it, although near the end of his remarks on the subject he expressed himself as rather confident that it would be found by his expedition up the east coast. This appears to have succeeded in reaching some point far to the north, but his shipbuilding enterprises on the west coast suffered a serious setback by the burning of the warehouse in which he had accumulated most of the equipment for the vessels. When these were finally ready in the spring of 1527, he was obliged to send them to the Moluccas under the command of Alvaro Saavedra Ceron in compliance with an order of June 20, 1526, from the Emperor.[10] On renewing his efforts to explore the coast to the north, nothing more was heard of any strait; he had other and more tangible objects in view much more likely to redound to his own benefit.

In his letter of December 15, 1525, Rodrigo de Albornoz wrote from Mexico that the Indians at Zacatula told a story about people having arrived there in large canoes from some islands. The story is most improbable, as neither the Indians on that coast nor on any islands near it possessed large canoes. Albornoz connected this with another Indian story about pearls. Pearls were found along the coast at a few places, even south of Zacatula, and in 1523 one of Cortés' captains had brought back some from Colima and said that he had heard of the "Island of Women."[11] Within a year Cortés sent another party to the north, no doubt to search for this island. From this story it is not unlikely that the Amazon legend, current both in ancient and medieval times, was localized in a place to the north called Ciguatan, or in some island near it. The legend had lately become popularized in Spanish literature through the *Sergas de Esplandian,* a romance of chivalry generally said to have been first published in Seville in 1510.

According to the story, pearls and precious stones were abundant on an island named "California," where the Amazons lived, and the Amazons themselves had weapons made of gold, no common metal being found.

Rivera's efforts to obtain a contract for his patron were not productive of results,[12] and it was only after Cortés himself had gone to Spain and urged his pretensions in person that he finally succeeded, October 27, 1529, in getting the sanction of the Crown to his undertaking and the grant of certain rights and privileges which he had previously requested.[13] Armed with this and the title of Marques del Valle de Oaxaca, he returned from Spain in 1530 to find that the five ships in Tehuantepec, which he had constructed to send to the Moluccas to the relief of Saavedra, had rotted and the equipment had been stolen or destroyed. He at once began the construction of two in Tehuantepec. He bought two others which were on the stocks near Acapulco from Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte in November, 1531. Villafuerte finished them as provided in the agreement,[14] and in May, 1532, they set sail from Acapulco.

By this time Cortés had a very active competitor in the north, Nuño de Guzman, who was just as energetic a searcher for gold as Cortés. He had already advanced far into what is now known as Sinaloa on his search for the "Province of Women" and had founded a town at or near the site of the present Culiacan. As far as can be ascertained from the contemporary documents, Guzman had no right whatever to enter this country. The southern part of Jalisco near the coast, Colima, and the province of Avalos had all been discovered by captains of Cortés, acting under his orders, and most of it was divided into *repartimientos* which he had allotted to his followers. Guzman, however, had been president of the Audiencia, a position which he used to further his own designs and to thwart those of Cortés. They were now bitter enemies, and Cortés' first object was to take possession of the country beyond Guzman's discoveries. This is plainly indicated by the instructions which he issued to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who commanded the expedition. Hurtado was ordered to sail along the coast, keeping a lookout for islands, until he reached the limits of Guzman's territory, easily recognizable by the sierra which came down from the interior and ended at the sea. Having passed this, he was to take possession and follow the coast for another 100 or 150 leagues only, and then return.[15] Hurtado, in compliance with these orders, sailed up the gulf, passed Culiacan, and finally reached a river in 27° which is supposed to have been the Fuerte. He went perhaps still farther north, but nothing more is positively known of him beyond the fact that a year later one of Guzman's captains who was on an expedition to the north found some relics of the party and came back with the story that they had all been killed by the Indians.[16]

Meanwhile, Cortés, who had heard nothing from Hurtado, went in person to Tehuantepec to hasten the work in his shipyard. While there, he must have heard about the vast booty which Francisco Pizarro and his band of adventurers in Peru had obtained from the Incas in November, 1532. The first effect of this on the Spaniards was to start a rush of adventurers to Peru, only to be followed immediately by a renewed rush in all other directions where there

seemed to be any possibility of discovering communities having hoards of gold or silver. What effect the news had upon the plans of Cortés can only be surmised, but the energy he displayed for the next few years in his explorations indicates that if any new stimulus had been needed to urge him on, this had now been supplied. His ships which he had expected in January, 1533,[17] to be ready in March did not get away until the end of October, when he dispatched them in person. One, the *San Lazaro,* commanded by Hernando de Grijalva, became separated from the other and returned to Acapulco after having discovered the Island of Santo Tomás and touched at the Colima coast. The other, the *Concepcion,* was commanded by Diego Becerra, who had a Basque pilot named Ortuño Ximenez de Bertandoña. During a mutiny headed by the pilot, Becerra was killed and the officials wounded. These and the three Franciscan friars who accompanied the expedition were landed on the Colima coast,[18] and Ximenez then sailed away to reach what is supposed to have been the Bay of La Paz in California, where he and most of the crew were killed by the Indians.[19] The few survivors navigated the ship back to the mainland, where they were all seized by Guzman, except one who, escaping his vigilance, reached Cortés with the news — "good news" Cortés called it, since it appears from a letter written by Guzman that these men spread reports of having found gold and pearls in some island.

This supposed island was either the Peninsula of California, for some years thought to be an island, due to its location at some distance from the mainland, or some island near it. About the only conclusive evidence that it was California is the fact that when Cortés went to that country in 1535 he evidently knew where he was going, probably having with him some of the men who had been with Ximenez. Pearls were certainly abundant on the east side of the peninsula from Cape Pulmo north, and the mention of them by the survivors of the massacre would indicate that Ximenez actually had reached that part of the coast. The gold part of Guzman's story can be dismissed as being simply one of those usual additions without foundation made in those days when people could see gold and silver everywhere. Certainly something was found sufficiently enticing to induce Cortés to prepare and lead an expedition fully equipped with materials for making a settlement.

May 1, 1535, he sighted the coast of California, and May 3 landed and took possession, naming the country "Santa Cruz" in commemoration of the discovery of the Holy Cross on that day. He laid out his settlement on what is now known as Pichilingue Harbor, opposite the Island of San Juan Nepucemeno, in La Paz Bay. No detailed or consecutive account of the enterprise exists, but from numerous incidental allusions to it, it seems that some explorations were made inland.[20] The party remained at the camp for a long time; a number of the Spaniards died of hunger, not to speak of many friendly Indians and servants. No gold or silver was discovered, although some indications of minerals may have been observed, nor is there anything to show that any substantial quantity of pearls was found. Some men sent back after food in the fall of 1535 under Juan de Jaso and Jorje Ceron were examined by Guzman in Com-

postela December 10. One of these testified that during an expedition from Santa Cruz they obtained from the Indians some forty burnt pearls.[21] No food could be obtained and Cortés had to go to the mainland after it. Hearing from Mexico that a viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, had reached there in October, and anxious about his own status under the new conditions, he himself returned in 1536, leaving Francisco de Ulloa in charge of the camp. He attempted to send some supplies to Ulloa and claimed later that he would have maintained his settlement if Mendoza had not obliged him to send instructions to Ulloa to break it up and bring the party back to Mexico.[22]

At this juncture, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, the sole survivors of those of Narvaez' expedition to Florida, who had been left in Texas, reached Mexico City July 24, 1536, after a year's travel across northern Mexico. Somewhere during their wandering they had heard of some towns of large, well inhabited houses to the north, from which their Indian friends obtained some stones that Cabeza de Vaca called emeralds. He also talked about pearls and great wealth on the shores of the South Sea. Altogether he conveyed the impression in his printed story that farther north there were people who had reached some rather advanced stage of civilization.[23] It is even possible that he told other more definite stories about what they had heard or seen in the north, as the Knight of Elvas in his account of the expedition of Hernando de Soto stated that when Cabeza de Vaca came to Spain in 1537 he had an interview with the Emperor and evidently told him something different from what was contained in his written relation, because some of the leading nobles at court, or who had friends there, immediately turned their property into cash and joined Soto's expedition. There is some evidence that Cortés had heard the same story or a similar one about the same time, perhaps a little earlier. Although his statements made in 1539 and later[24] about the source of his knowledge of the "Seven Cities" are extremely ambiguous, yet it seems possible that some of his men who had been on the upper Sinaloa coast in the summer of 1535, and possibly later, had obtained from the Indians some knowledge of these towns in the north. Just how far south this knowledge extended cannot be known, nor is it possible to discover just how far north Cortés' men had been. The name farthest north on this coast shown on the map which he filed with the *acta* of taking possession of Santa Cruz is San Pablo. This is applied to a river, and just south of it is another, the San Pedro. These are perhaps intended to represent the two mouths of the Sinaloa. North of these the coast is shown for some distance, but without any names.

Just when or how the old medieval legend of the "Seven Cities" came to be applied in Mexico to something in the far north is not known.[25] Pedro de Castañeda, in his account of the Coronado expedition, wrote that in 1530 Guzman had an Indian named Tejo who said he had been in the north with his father, a trader, and had seen seven large towns which had streets of workers in silver.[26] It is not unlikely that Guzman found this Indian in Panuco and that he first sent out an expedition from there to search for the "Seven Cities," as about 1550 one Juan Pantoja declared that after the pacification of Panuco he

had gone eighty leagues inland in quest of them.[27] Guzman himself, instead of following the direction the Indian said he had gone, that is, northward across the plateau country, went over to the west coast and started north from there. There is a positive statement in one of the accounts of Guzman's explorations that Diego de Guzman had gone north in 1533 to discover the "Seven Cities," because Guzman already had news of them and of a river four or five leagues wide which flowed into the South Sea.[28] The evidence is not altogether above suspicion, as the account was written after the "Seven Cities" had been discovered. If true, however, and the author was not referring to Tejo and his story, it would provide some confirmation of the claim of Cortés as indicating that the Indians in northern Sinaloa had some knowledge of the "Seven Cities."

No doubt as soon as Cabeza de Vaca's narrative became known, everyone jumped to the conclusion that these large towns from which the emeralds came must be the "Seven Cities." All the expeditions to the north in the ensuing six years may be justly considered as having been brought about by his story. Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, was perhaps skeptical, as he endeavored to get Andres Dorantes, one of Cabeza de Vaca's companions, to take the back track in search of the people with houses. Failing in this, he selected for the mission Marcos de Niza, a French Franciscan friar, about whose early history nothing is known beyond the fact that he had been in Peru with Alvarado. He had come to Mexico from Guatemala in the early part of 1537 at the request of the bishop, Juan de Zumarraga, who had a high opinion of him, which he no doubt communicated to Mendoza.[29] Niza set out from Culiacan March 7, 1539, and having traveled a long distance to the north, came back to Compostela about July 1, and to Mexico City some time in August, where he told some marvelous tales about what he had seen.[30] They made such an impression on Mendoza that he had him write down his account and ratify it in official form September 2, so that he could send it to the Emperor. Niza had not only seen the City of Cibola, but had heard of the six others; he wrote about emeralds and vessels of gold and silver, the only metals the inhabitants knew, much more abundant there than in Peru, and talked about them to his brother friars. According to one of these he said the inhabitants were cultured and wore silk clothing, and the walls of their temples were covered with precious stones.[31] Beyond, he said, he had heard that there were camels and elephants, thus evincing his belief that he had reached the outskirts of the famous kingdom of the great Khan.

After Niza's return, Mendoza hastened the preparations of an expedition which he placed under the command of a young protegé of his, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. He had no difficulty in securing all the volunteers necessary, as in the excitement produced by the recent reports everyone wished to join and get his share of the gold and silver. It seems possible, however, that Mendoza was still not any too certain about Niza's story, as he immediately sent out another man, Melchor Diaz, from Culiacan with a small force to find out if what he could see would agree with Niza's story. Without waiting for his report, however, Mendoza assembled his force at Compostela in Jalisco, and Coronado set out from that place February 3, 1540. A short time after-

ward Diaz met the army with a very depressing report, which was sent on to the Viceroy, who was in Colima preparing an expedition by sea of two ships which, besides keeping in communication with Coronado, were to carry the heavy baggage the gentlemen of the army had been obliged to leave behind at Culiacan. He appointed to the command, Hernando de Alarcon, who could not leave Acapulco until May 9, and in consequence never caught up with Coronado, although he stopped and took on the baggage at Culiacan and added to his fleet another ship he found there loaded with food for Coronado. He ultimately reached the head of the gulf and ascended the Colorado River in a small boat to a point probably just above the present site of Yuma, returning to Acapulco about the middle of November with a great fund of stories about the Indians on the river, but without having been of any service whatever to Coronado, who, of course, was far distant in the interior.

Coronado himself soon reached Cibola, only to find to his great disgust that most of Niza's stories were untrue. The Indians had no gold, silver or emeralds, but only some cotton clothes and buffalo hides. He continued to the valley of the Rio Grande and ultimately took a journey across the buffalo plains in the summer of 1541 in search of Quivira, a name which he had heard from some Indians on the Rio Grande. This place was reported to be also very rich, but when Coronado finally reached the spot, or near the spot where it was supposed to be — somewhere in south central Kansas — he found no more signs of wealth than he had in Cibola, in fact, the Indians there were even less civilized. After the return, winter quarters were made on the Rio Grande, and in the spring of 1542 the expedition set out on the return to Mexico, reaching Culiacan just before June 24. While in the north, Coronado sent out several parties, one of which discovered what was probably the Colorado River. From the point of view of the adventurers of those days, nothing of any value had been found; the expedition was a total failure and all the money embarked in it by Mendoza and his friends was lost.[32]

In the meantime, before the Coronado expedition was organized, and even before Niza returned, Cortés sent out his expedition to follow the coast in spite of the obstacles the officials in New Spain placed in his way. The west coast was, however, a long way from Mexico City, and as Cortés had plenty of friends in that part of the country, he managed to dispatch, July 8, a fleet of three vessels under the command of Francisco de Ulloa. A few days before Ulloa departed Niza had made his appearance at Compostela and sent on to the Viceroy some kind of report.[33] He himself apparently reached Mexico early in August. On the 25th of that month Mendoza issued a proclamation prohibiting anyone from leaving the country without his license.[34] September 4, Cortés appeared before the Audiencia and presented a petition asking for a license to send a ship with supplies and thirty or forty men to the aid of Ulloa.[35] The Audiencia refused to grant it and Cortés then removed the proceedings to Spain, instituting a suit before the Council of the Indies, March 1, 1540. June 25 the Council decreed that an order be sent to Mendoza and the Audiencia not to interfere with his operations in the South Sea.[36] This is the last we hear of

his enterprises in that quarter; the *Santa Agueda* had returned with a report from Ulloa which could hardly have inspired anyone to further efforts.

Cortés himself went to Spain about the end of December, 1539,[37] and spent the remainder of his life there occupied with his many suits before the Council and in fruitless appeals to the Emperor for more favorable consideration of his services. He died in his bed near Seville, December 2, 1547, at the age of sixty-three. With him passed away the mighty race of *conquistadores;* Alvarado, Almagro, Soto and Pizarro had already met untimely ends.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

Bibliographical Note

[The numbers of documents without any designation of place are those of the bundles of papers in the Archivo de Indias in Seville which contain the documents.]

The material for writing a history of New Spain from the fall of Mexico City in August, 1521, to 1550, is awaiting some patient and industrious investigator. It is not to be gleaned from the general histories written by contemporaries, but must be sought in the voluminous records of the lawsuits in which Hernando Cortés was engaged, in those dealing with the *visita* of Francisco Tello de Sandoval, and in the few extant *residencias* and *relaciones de servicios* of some of the leading actors in the events. Some letters of prime importance exist, many written by Cortés, a few by Antonio de Mendoza, Pedro de Alvarado and Nuño de Guzman, and others by individuals connected with the government or members of the monastic orders, but the records of the numerous expeditions which scoured the country in search of gold and reached the State of Kansas on the one side and almost the State of Oregon on the other are nearly all lost. How numerous these were can be seen in the brief summaries of the services of many of the captains engaged in them, as published by Francisco A. de Icaza in his *Diccionario autobiografico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España.* Whether fuller accounts will be found buried in more extended *relaciones de servicios* or in some of the many lawsuits regarding *encomiendas* remains to be seen. Notwithstanding this paucity of original documents, it is possible to recognize in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo's account of the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, and in the summary of the expedition of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, extracts from others. As far as they go, these extracts no doubt contain the substance if not the actual words of the original reports.

The period has attracted very little attention from the students of Spanish-American history, and still less from the writers of popular works who have invariably set before us the more dramatic incidents of the conquest, drawing their material from readily accessible published works. Mr. Arthur Scott Aiton alone has dipped into the mass of material existing in the archives in Spain dealing with it. In his *Antonio de Mendoza,* recently issued, he presents a long list of documents, many hitherto known only by their *legajo* numbers, from which he has made extracts of such matters as are pertinent to his subject. The

only other important work dealing with this period is George Parker Winship's *Coronado Expedition.* Mr. Winship did not have access to the archives in Seville, but obtained his material from previous publications, with the exception of a document in the possession of Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta and the manuscript account of Pedro de Castañeda in the New York Public Library. This had been previously published in French by Ternaux-Compans in Paris in 1838. Mr. Winship did not, however, miss much, if anything, by not having examined the documents in the archives, as since the publication of his book nothing more has been found there of any value dealing with the expedition.

If modern writers have passed lightly over this period, the same may be said of the great Spanish historians of the sixteenth century. The first to publish anything like a connected account of the enterprises of Cortés was Francisco Lopez de Gómara in his *Conquista de Mexico.* His *Historia de las Indias,* published in the same year, although not specifically referring to Mexico, contains some information about events in that country. The leading and, in fact, the only authorities of any value are those included in the list below.

In this Introduction the writer has made little or no use of any of these works, but has taken the facts almost entirely from documents existing in the archives in Seville, very few of which have ever been published. The main source has been the famous *Proceso,* No. 1-1-2/21, of which Part I was published in Volume XV of the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos* (title in full below). Parts 2a to 9a comprise most of the documents which were filed in the suit by the various participants, although 2a contains some petitions which were presented to the Council. A few documents picked from these parts as being of interest have also been published in the same collection and elsewhere. In addition to this *legajo,* use has been made of the *Cartas de Relacion* of Cortés which were published in his lifetime and other letters of his which have only appeared in print in recent years. It is not impossible that other facts might be obtained from the records of some of the suits which Cortés brought against Guzman and the various members of the Audiencia, but so far as the writer has examined these, he has not yet found anything of interest regarding his expeditions, not set out by him or his representatives in some of the numerous petitions which he presented in Madrid or Mexico.

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Notes

1. The so-called third *Relacion*, printed in Seville the following year.
2. Printed in P. & C., XXVI, 59.
3. 1-1-3/17, printed as No. XXIV in his *Cartas* by Cuevas, who erroneously attributes it to the year 1533. At the end it bears a notation: *En Burgos XIIII de Jullio*, evidently the day it was presented.
4. This is clearly a reference to his lost first letter which must have been written about July 1, 1519.
5. Rodrigo de Albornoz in his letter of December 15, 1525, estimated that the Moluccas were six or seven hundred leagues from Zacatula. Icaz. *Docs.* I, 496, and P. & C., XIII, 45.
6. In the letter as printed by Cuevas this appears as 1532, an obvious error.
7. Printed in P. & C., XII, 213. This is only an extract containing the order here referred to. The complete cedula, which is a series of instructions to Cortés about the government of the country, is printed in Vol. XXIII of the same series.
8. In reality Andres Niño, a partner of Davila, conducted the expedition. Niño had a contract with the Crown, dated June 18, 1519, which gave him the right to discover in the South Sea for 1,000 leagues to the west of Panama, but Davila was appointed commander of the expedition. The actual exploration began in the spring of 1522; Davila proceeded by land while Niño prosecuted a voyage by sea and according to Davila reached as far along the coast as the latitude of 17½°. Davila returned to Panama June 5, 1523, and reached Santo Domingo about March 1, 1524. There was therefore time for Cortés to receive the news before he wrote the Emperor October 15, 1524. The account of Davila's expedition was published in Madrid in 1883 by Manuel M. de Peralta in his *Costa-Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el Siglo XVI.*
9. Usually called the fourth *Relacion*, printed in Toledo in 1525.
10. 1-2-1/10.
11. Cortés already in his letter of October 15, 1524, had stated that his soldiers who conquered Colima had brought back some pearls, and an account of the lords of a province named Ciguatan who strongly affirmed that there was an island entirely populated by women ten days' journey away and that many of them had gone there and seen it. "They tell me also that it is very rich in pearls and gold. I will labor to find out the truth as soon as I have equipment and will send a full account of it to your Majesty." Gayangos, 288. Writing September 3, 1526, Cortés stated that even before he wrote October 15, 1524, he had sent a captain to Colima to follow the coast to the north for 150 leagues to find out if there were any ports on it. The party went 130 leagues and discovered some ports and many towns, had some fights, and pacified many of the natives. They did not go farther because they were few in number and there was no grass for the horses. They had brought back a story about a large river ten days' journey beyond the farthest point they reached, and many strange stories about the people near it. Not a word was said about pearls or women which were certainly the objects sought. Cortés now declared that he was going to send another more powerful party to find out about that river because, according to the story of its width and size, "*no tendria en mucho ser estrecho.*" 1-1-2/16 R. 4, printed in Gayangos 491.
12. Cortés' letter of September 11, 1526, 1-1-2/16 No. 1 R. 5, printed in Gayangos, 375.
13. 1-1-2/16 No. 2 R. 1º or 139-1-1 printed in P. & C., XII, 490. The contract was dated October 27, but the cedula was issued November 5.
14. This contract was dated November 4, and was filed by Cortés before the Audiencia in September, 1539. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a.

15. These instructions were filed by him in his proceedings before the Audiencia in September, 1539. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a, printed in *Escritos de Cortés*, 196.

16. A mass of documents filed by Cortés exists about this expedition but very little of value can be gathered from them. It is plain that he based his claim to send an expedition to Cibola largely on a discovery of the coast at 27° which he alleged had been made by Hurtado. Unfortunately he was apparently never able to find a survivor of the party which had gone on with Húrtado when he sent back the other ship. There were three survivors of this latter vessel who gave evidence, but all Cortés could find out about Hurtado's party he apparently learned from someone who had accompanied Diego de Guzman. One of the suits Cortés brought against Nuño de Guzman was for the vessel Hurtado sent back and its equipment and arms which had been abandoned by its crew on the coast. Diego de Guzman's account was filed by Nuño de Guzman in the suit in Madrid, 1-1-2/21, Part I. He left Culiacan August 4, 1533, and in September reached the Yaqui River which he named the San Francisco. November 23, on his return, he discovered some relics of dead Christians and heard from an Indian woman that fifteen of them had been killed while asleep at a place five days' journey distant. He afterwards found farther south the Indian town where they were said to have been killed, or the river on which it was located, probably the Fuerte. This expedition was subsequent to that of Hurtado and it was for this reason that Cortés claimed prior rights.

17. *See* his letters from Tehuantepec of January 25, and February 10, 1533, 1-1-2/16, No. 1, R. 11-13, Gayangos, 515, 521 and 525.

18. A full account of the events of Becerra's expedition up to this point is contained in an *Informacion* drawn up in December, 1533, at the request of Juan de Carasa, the purser of this ship; most of the survivors who had been landed testified. 2-2-1/1 R. 52.

19. Gómara, 427, makes a definite statement that Ximenez was killed where Cortés afterwards made his camp. One hesitates to question such an authority as Gómara who should have known what he was talking about, but Cortés' own failure to mention the fact in any of his numerous petitions creates some doubt about it. He in fact insisted that Becerra had discovered some country which could hardly have been any other than this, although Becerra did not discover the peninsula, or any island near it, as we now know positively from the Carasa *Informacion*. It is just possible that Cortés used Becerra's name inadvisedly for that of Ximenez.

20. According to Navarrete a copy of some declarations made in Mexico before the Audiencia, perhaps in 1537 or 1538, and which contain some details about this expedition, exists in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. *See* his Introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, Madrid, 1802.

21. 1-1-2/21, Part 4a, presented before the Council by Guzman himself March 6, 1540. The testimony is most interesting. Most of the witnesses were asked the name Cortés bestowed on his camp and they all said they knew of none other than Santa Cruz.

22. 1-1-2/21, Part 9a. In a petition of September 4, 1539.

23. *Relacion*, first edition, Zamora 1542, second edition, Valladolid 1555.

24. First made in his petition to the Audiencia of September 4, 1539.

25. A recent publication by William H. Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, New York 1922, gives an interesting account of this legend.

26. *Coronado Expedition*, 472.

27. Icaza, *Dicc.*

28. *Segunda relacion anonima*, Icaz. *Docs.* II, 303.

29. All the writer could find out about this interesting character was published in his *Spanish Southwest.*

30. His story has been frequently translated from the Italian version published in 1556 by Ramusio.

31. Letter of Fr. Jeronimo Ximenez de San Esteban dated October 9, 1539, *Nueva coleccion*, I, 194.

32. This resumé of the history of the Coronado expedition has been largely taken from Winship's *Coronado Expedition.*

33. That such is the case can be inferred from two letters Cortés wrote to Mendoza from Cuernavaca dated July 26 and August 6, 1539. In the first he answers a letter from Mendoza which evidently contained some news from Niza. These letters were filed by Mendoza in the suit which Cortés brought before the Audiencia September 4, with the evident purpose of discrediting statements which Cortés was apparently even then making that he himself had furnished Niza with the information which the latter brought back. This is proved by the fact that Mendoza had Niza appear September 2, and make a declaration that before he had set out on his journey he had not received any information whatever from Cortés about the country which he discovered. He added that if Cortés had really known about it he would never have sent his ships to Peru (as he did in 1536). 1-1-2/21 Part 2a. The document was filed by the Council's legal adviser, Villalobos, in Cortés' suit in Spain, October 14, 1540.

34. 1-1-2/21, 9a.

35. The reason for this was the return of the *Santo Tomas*, one of Ulloa's vessels which had become separated from the others. Cortés maintained that this left Ulloa short of men and supplies. See also his petition of November 20, in the same *legajo*.

36. These documents in 1-1-2/21, mostly in Part 2a. The order of June 25, 1540, was in reality issued as three cedulas, two to Mendoza, July 10 and 19, and one to the Audiencia, July 27, but their tenor is the same, not to interfere with Cortés' discoveries in the South Sea. 1-1-2/16 No. 2 R. 49 (all 3). This order must have resulted from a remarkable protest delivered by Cortés to the Council June 25, that is, the same day as the order was made. It is in 1-1-2/21, Part 2a, and is printed in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Vol. IV, 1844.

37. The exact date of his departure does not seem to be known. He was in Vera Cruz December 23, when his representative, Alvaro Ruiz, presented another petition to the Audiencia again asking a license to send one or more ships to Ulloa's aid. He complained that the officials in Guatulco had taken away from the Santo Tomas, the sails, the oars and the rudder. He asserted that Cortés had sent to Guatemala and to other places for some soldiers whose salary he was now paying, and who were then in Tehuantepec. Some ships there were ready to depart with these under the command of Bernardo de la Torre. There were also others of experience and capacity to go with him. He also declared that news had been received that Pedro de Alvarado was preparing a force with which he intended to invade the northern part of Mexico and asked that a stringent order be sent him to keep out of it. This the Audiencia readily agreed to and decreed that an order be sent Alvarado to that effect, but a license to send a ship to Ulloa's assistance was again refused, although the request regarding the vessel in Guatulco was granted. 1-1-2/21, Part 2a (25).

CHAPTER II.

ALVARADO & MENDOZA, *Partners.*

In the Introduction a short sketch has been given of the various land and sea expeditions set on foot by Cortés and Mendoza in the search for gold and treasure in the north. There was another adventurer quite as greedy and active as they were, Pedro de Alvarado.[1] He also had his eye on the "Seven Cities," and determined to make a bid for wealth there as he had done in Guatemala and Peru. A grand fighter and one of the most picturesque of all the *conquistadores*, he had come to Mexico with Cortés who sent him to Guatemala to occupy that country in his behalf, a task which he accomplished to his own satisfaction, if not to that of his chief, for no sooner had he become well settled than he threw off allegiance to Cortés and secured direct from the Crown the appointment as governor of the country. He was an attractive rascal, however, and in spite of his disloyalty Cortés seems to have remained on friendly terms with him, realizing perhaps the impossibility of holding such a man as a permanent vassal in an out-of-the-way place like Guatemala, and complacently accepting the inevitable under the conviction that it would be better to retain Alvarado's friendship than to incur his enmity.[2]

Guatemala, not being rich in gold and silver, afforded too little scope for Alvarado's ambition and energy, and he looked around for new worlds to conquer. In 1529 Charles V had disposed of his interest in the Moluccas to the King of Portugal, for the time being at least, but his advisers told him that there was a territory just beyond to the west which lay in the territory alloted to him under the agreement made in Tordesillas in 1494 and was not included in that pawn. All the expeditions which had been sent out to the Moluccas had started from Seville, with the exception of that of 1527 under the command of Alvaro

de Saavedra Ceron which the Emperor in June 1526 ordered Cortés to send to the relief of Garcia Joffre de Loaysa. At the time of the pawn, a new fleet under Simon de Alcazaba was about ready to leave Seville. The Emperor took the ships and went to Italy with them, and that ended the efforts to occupy the "Islands of the West" from Spain itself. The fleet sent out from Seville in 1535 under Alcazaba and that of Camargo in 1539 had no such objective; their purpose was to take possession of the south end of South America, under the expectation or at least the hope that they would find gold and silver in the possession of the natives there as Pizarro and his band of adventurers had among those in Peru. The patent fact that the "Islands of the West" could be reached in a much shorter time and at much less expense from the Pacific Coast of New Spain than from old Spain, and the rapid colonization of that coast, probably afford the explanation for the shift now made in the base of operations.

August 5, 1532, Charles V made a contract with Alvarado for the discovery of islands in the South Sea in the neighborhood of Guatemala, of all those to the west not already discovered and of the mainland to the west not included in the limits already granted to the government of others.[3] The object contemplated by the Emperor was probably an expedition to the spice islands. This contract was made at the instance of Alvarado, who stated that he was building a fleet to discover the secrets of the South Sea, as he had heard of rich islands and other countries on the coast. He offered to provide twelve ships and employ 400 men in the enterprise, which he said would cost him 40,000 *castellanos*. Having finished his fleet, he set sail from Guatemala in January, 1534, but instead of attending to his own business went to Peru, where he found himself obliged to come to terms with Pizarro and Almagro and sell them his fleet for 100,000 pesos. He returned to Guatemala about a year afterwards with a few men, having left behind the bulk of his force which entered Pizarro's service. This Peruvian enterprise was entirely illegal, having been prohibited both by the Emperor and the Audiencia in Mexico, who from the start suspected his design.

May 12, 1535, working no doubt under his contract of 1532, he broached another scheme.[4] This was to go to Spain and fit out there a fleet which was to proceed by the Strait of Magellan to the spice country, make a settlement there and then discover what there was in the South Sea. From Guatemala he proposed to send another to support it. He asked a license to go to Spain, but as this did not come and he heard that the Emperor had departed for the Levant with an expedition, thus making it difficult to secure the force he proposed to take by the strait, he abandoned this project, and November 30 wrote that he was going to send out in January two well armed and equipped moderate sized vessels, and a large brigantine which he had already purchased, under Francisco de Castellanos and with Ginés de Mafra as pilot. He wrote that he was also laying down in his shipyard three new galleons of a hundred tons each and a galley, all to be supplied with oars, which he expected would be finished inside the year which he allowed for the return of the other ships.[5] It is not quite clear from his letter just how he proposed to reach the spice country with these last ships, which he

said he would accompany himself, but from his remark about oars it appears that he expected to follow the coast.

There is no record that these ships ever left, and it is not unlikely that before they could sail in January some order came from Spain forbidding him to embark in any more expeditions, and ordering him to come there to justify himself if possible for his excursion to Peru. He certainly did go there in July or the early part of August, 1536, leaving behind instructions to have an *Informacion* drawn up to prove that he had been driven to the coast of Peru by contrary winds.[6] He reached there at a time propitious for the furtherance of his design; a new spice excitement was on. In June Andrés de Urdaneta and Macias del Poyo, two of the few survivors of Loaysa's expedition to the Philippines, had returned to Lisbon. In September and October they made various declarations in Valladolid before the Council of the Indies in which they related their adventures in the Moluccas.[7] February 26, 1537, Urdaneta presented a detailed account of his experiences, at the end of which he gave a description of the Moluccas and surrounding islands, so far as known to him, and their productions, estimating that a profit of 600,000 ducats could be obtained every year solely from the trade in cloves, nutmegs and mace, without considering what might be gained from that of the rich islands near by and the great country of China. He said however, that cloves came only from the Moluccas, and that nutmegs and mace were obtained in the Banda Islands.[8] Alvarado's proposal then to conduct a new expedition on a large scale to the spice islands must have been peculiarly timely.

While the negotiations were in progress, a new factor made its appearance. Cabeza de Vaca came to Spain with his story.[9] Cortés claimed prior rights to make discoveries to the north of the territory discovered by Nuño de Guzman, but Alvarado was on the spot and had influential friends at the court.[10] He now offered to send on a discovery to the west, within fifteen months immediately following his arrival in Guatemala, two galleons and a *navio sotil* supplied with food for two years, and with the necessary men, artillery and equipment. He also offered to send two others along the coast to discover the turning point of the land[11] so as to find out all its secrets. If any lands or islands should be discovered which it would seem advisable to settle, he offered then to send ten other ships with 800 soldiers, of which 300 would be horsemen in case the character of the country to be settled should be such as to make them necessary, and priests and friars to instruct and doctrinate the natives, all at his own expense, without expecting any re-payment thereafter except for such outlays as should be specified in the agreement. He also stated that he had an agreement with the new viceroy in Mexico, Mendoza, that the latter should have a third interest in the enterprise. In return for this service and his previous ones he asked for a long list of grants and privileges which are set down at length in the contract which the Crown executed with him April 16, 1538.[12] In this Alvarado was appointed captain-general of the new territory to be discovered, at the yearly salary of 3,000 ducats, payable out of the revenues thereof, and the Crown agreed that during seven years no contract would be made with others to make discoveries

within the limits assigned to him. He was also to be made governor of Guatemala for seven years, subject to the outcome of his *Residencia* then being taken. His agreement with Mendoza was confirmed, and a cedula was ordered to be sent to advise him of the fact that Alvarado was obliged to admit him as a partner in the enterprise with a one-third interest.[13]

Although Mendoza afterwards said that he had no knowledge of this clause in Alvarado's contract at the time it was made and disclaimed having ever asked for any participation in it, it hardly seems possible that Alvarado would have made such a statement without authority from him, as he certainly did not need him in the enterprise. In order to absolve Mendoza from having lied about the transaction, it would be necessary to assume that during the course of Alvarado's negotiations it had been suggested to him that he would have to include Mendoza in order to get his grant. Even in such case, however, it seems to have been hardly necessary to have asserted that he had an agreement with Mendoza. The writer has made a thorough search of the contemporary documents to discover whether Alvarado stopped in Mexico on his way to Spain, without any definite results, but he probably did not as he seems to have gone from Guatemala to Havana. He also evidently had some sort of an understanding with Cortés about his expedition, as the latter afterwards claimed that he had prepared a large quantity of supplies at Guatulco for Alvarado's fleet,[14] and this in spite of the fact that at that time he was in Spain combatting Alvarado's right to make an expedition up the coast.[15] The whole matter is involved in much obscurity, and seems to show evidence of intrigue carried on by Alvarado with both men.

It has already been seen that Alvarado had in his employ in Guatemala one pilot, Mafra, who had been in the Moluccas with Magellan. He now enlisted in Spain Andrés de Urdaneta, Hernando de la Torre,[16] and Martin de Islares, all of whom had been with Loaysa, and Alonso Hernandez who had probably accompanied Saavedra. During the rest of the year the officials in Spain were busy appointing officials for the new province and getting out cedulas of one kind or another relating to the contract. Juan de Curio was appointed chief pilot, Diego Lopez de Zuñiga comptroller, Hernando de la Torre treasurer, and others to various other positions. A special clause was put in the contract that under no circumstances should the fleet enter the territory of the King of Portugal, and a special cedula was issued to Alvarado March 21, 1539, reiterating this order. August 9, 1538, he was appointed captain-general of the islands that might be discovered.[17] Having collected a force of some 300 soldiers and bought a large quantity of supplies, artillery and other necessities for his enterprise, he left Spain with his party in the early part of 1539, and after stopping at Santo Domingo, landed in Puerto Caballos April 4.[18] He at once sent instructions to Guatemala to begin the construction of two ships and then undertook the arduous task of conveying his artillery and supplies across the country. He himself reached Guatemala September 15, and as soon as the festivities following his arrival were over, he began the construction of the rest of the ships with all his accustomed energy. He placed Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in charge of those

which were being constructed at Istapa, a small port at the mouth of a river five or six miles east of San José in Guatemala. Other vessels were built, perhaps at Acajutla, where his principal shipyard was located.

November 18, 1539, he wrote the Emperor that he had heard that some one had gone to ask him for a grant to conquer the coast of New Spain, as there was news that it was a very rich and fruitful country, and begged him not to make any, as he said that by the time his letter should reach him he would be there himself with his fleet, God willing, not only there but at the islands.[19] The news to which he referred was the story brought back by Niza, as Alvarado himself mentions in this letter. Niza was an old friend or companion of Alvarado, having accompanied him on his expedition to Peru, and been present with him on several important occasions.[20] From what little can be gleaned from the few contemporary accounts of Niza's arrival in Mexico, the excitement must have been intense.[21] Mendoza himself immediately began preparations for an expedition on a large scale, and Alvarado now made plans to divert his exploration of the northwest coast to a land adventure in search of the "Seven Cities."

The building and equipping of the ships was a slow task. One of the early chroniclers of Guatemala gives us the names of some of them, the *Santiago* (the *Capitana*), the *San Francisco,* the *Anton Hernandez,* the *Alvar Nuñez,* the *Figueroa,*[22] and another, the *Juan Rodriguez,* apparently named in honor of Cabrillo, who was the second in command of the fleet. Alvarado himself was captain-general, and altogether he had eleven ships and 850 soldiers, of whom 250 were cavalry, and a number of Indians for service. At a session of the *Ayuntamiento* of Santiago held May 19, 1540,[23] Francisco de la Cueva was appointed as his lieutenant during his absence by Alvarado, who then departed for Acajutla.[24] Oviedo tells us that a man named Bernaldo de Molina who was on his way to Spain with despatches from Alvarado stopped in Santo Domingo and told him that he had seen the fleet leave in search of the "Seven Cities" in the month of August. According to Molina it consisted of three galleons of over 200 tons each, seven ships of 100 tons each, a beautiful galley and two *justas,* and carried more than a thousand seamen and soldiers.[25] It thus seems likely that for some reason Alvarado did not get away until August, and that the fleet sailed from Acajutla.

The cavalry which Alvarado had aboard his ships and which he was not required by his contract to send on his exploring expedition, on which it would have been entirely useless, could not have escaped the eagle eye of the Viceroy even if the knowledge that Alvarado was contemplating some land expedition had not reached him long before the fleet set sail. His own army, composed largely of young men and late comers to Mexico, was somewhere in the north; there was none left with which to organize another except the *conquistadores* still living. These were in the prime of life and were capable of putting up a good fight if necessary, but they could hardly have been considered by the Viceroy as likely to be of much assistance to him in any struggle he might have with Alvarado, who was now looming up on the horizon with what was probably the most powerful force that had yet been organized in New Spain. It was true that he

had a third interest in it, of which by this time he must have become aware, even if he had not known about it from the start,[26] but he had the whole interest in his own expedition, and could easily foresee that in any arrangement he might make with Alvarado, some share in this would have to be given him. It is uncertain whether the steps he took were intended to starve Alvarado into making a new contract more advantageous to himself or to drive him away from the coast. The facts are that when Alvarado reached Guatulco with his fleet, probably about November 1,[27] to take on board the supply of food which had been collected there for him by Cortés from his estate in the neighborhood, he was met by Luis de Castilla and Peralmildez Cherino with orders from the Viceroy not to land, and not to take on the supplies.[28] With this order Alvarado apparently complied and set sail for Acapulco.[29] As there was nothing there he went on to Santiago in Colima where he was again met by Castilla, who had with him on this occasion Agustin Guerrero, the major-domo of the Viceroy. These two men were the closest to Mendoza of any in Mexico. During the course of the *visita* of Mendoza in 1547, Castilla testified that they had gone to Navidad to make an agreement with Alvarado in behalf of the Viceroy, but that Alvarado refused to do so with them, declaring that he was determined to go to see the Viceroy himself.[30] There is evidence that they put the same kind of pressure on him in Santiago as they had in Guatulco by preventing Alvarado from obtaining food.

A meeting was arranged which took place near the end of November at Tiripitio in Michoacan about half way between Mexico and Santiago. Castilla, in his attempt to refute the charge that the Viceroy had compelled Alvarado to give him a half interest in the fleet instead of a third, testified that the conference nearly broke up because the Viceroy said that Alvarado wanted too much, but that the next morning he told Castilla that he was going to come to an arrangement with Alvarado even if he had to agree to his terms, because if Alvarado went on with his expedition it would be to his prejudice and to that of the force which he had sent to Cibola.[31] Mendoza's reasons are succinctly stated in his letter of October 6, 1541: "His Majesty was pleased that I should have a part in this contract which he made with the *adelantado*, Pedro de Alvarado, for discoveries in the South Sea. There was some discord between us in adjusting the matter, because His Majesty had made me the grant without my having asked for it, or knowing anything about it. In the end, however, having before my eyes what had happened in Peru, I came to an arrangement with him and we agreed to send out two fleets, one to discover the coast of New Spain, and the other to the west in search of the Lequios and Cathay."[32] Alvarado wrote the Emperor from Valladolid giving him an account of this memorable conference, and Mendoza no doubt did the same, but both letters are lost, to the best knowledge of the writer. Some months later however Alvarado, writing from Guadalajara, said that the contract had been made in order to avoid scandal and the rivalry which had arisen between him and Mendoza by reason of the latter having sent Coronado into his territory. He said they had arranged their differences without regard to their own interests, but only to those of the King, and

that joined together they would have such a great array of ships, forces, food, and supplies that everything would be discovered in a very short time.[33]

The agreement, which was dated November 29, 1540, and signed before the bishop of Guatemala, Francisco de Marroquin; the *oydor,* Alonso Maldonado; Cherino and others, provided that Mendoza should have a half interest in the enterprise instead of a third, and that from that day on Alvarado should have a half interest in whatever Coronado and Alarcon might discover, but only a quarter interest in anything that might have been discovered by them up to that date. Each party relieved the other from any claim for payment of any part of the expenses that had been incurred in fitting out these expeditions, but from that day all future expenses were to be shared equally. The partnership was to last for twenty years, the rights and obligations of both parties passing to their heirs in case of death. The Port of Acapulco was fixed on as the port for loading and unloading the fleets, and the shipyard for their construction was established at Xirabaltique in Guatemala. Both men swore to keep the agreement on the cross of the Order of Santiago, to which they belonged.[34]

This business having been concluded the principals went to Santiago where Alvarado's fleet then was, to make arrangements about its disposition and to give Mendoza an opportunity to look it over and get acquainted with the men. They decided to send out two expeditions: one to the spice country of three ships and a galley and 300 men, under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos,[35] and the other up the coast of five ships and a *fusta* with 300 men under Juan de Alvarado.[36] The former was to leave inside of three months and the latter in April. From Santiago the two partners now moved the fleet to Navidad, a port some twenty miles to the north which had recently been discovered. They reached there Christmas day, 1540,[37] and while they were in Purificacion near by, where the Viceroy was making an official *visita,* news of the rising of the Indians in Jalisco reached them. At first this revolt was limited to the district around Suchipila, some distance from the coast, but the Viceroy at once went to Guadalajara, no doubt accompanied by Alvarado.[38] He sent out Cristobal de Oñate to lay siege to the hill where the Indians were entrenched, and as Oñate reported that he was quite able to punish them, the Viceroy departed for the City of Mexico, probably still accompanied by Alvarado. They must have left Guadalajara about April 1, as Alvarado wrote a letter from that place dated March 28, and at the end of the month they were both in Mexico. Alvarado in this letter stated that two other large ships were being built and more would be in the future. All this he said had been done with such labor and expense that they had not only invested in the enterprise their own property but also a great part of that of their friends, and particularly his own, asserting that he could not sustain himself unless he received some aid from the King. He also referred to his exclusive contract for seven years and complained of the efforts of Cortés to prevent him from carrying it out. At the end he said that he expected to return to Guatemala when the fleets had been despatched.[39]

April 29, 1541, the partners prepared in Mexico a set of instructions to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga and Gonzalo Dovalle for a voyage up the west coast in the Pacific Ocean.[40] Alvarado must have left Mexico before May 31, as on that day Mendoza, acting alone, issued a set of instructions to Alarcon for another expedition up the Gulf of California.[41] Alvarado returned to the north and the next we hear of him he was in Zapotlan with Castilla. The revolt in New Galicia had now become very serious and the Spaniards in Guadalajara, hard pressed by the Indians who had defeated Oñate, called on him for aid. Mendoza also wrote him asking him to go to their assistance. He immediately responded, and leaving Castilla in command and Cabrillo in charge of the ships and collecting some of his infantry and cavalry who were in garrison in various places, went to Guadalajara, arriving there June 12. Desiring to conclude the affair as soon as possible, he resolved to immediately attack the Indians who were fortified in an almost inaccessible spot in Nochistlan. Oñate attempted to dissuade him, begging him to wait until the aid arrived which had been asked of the Viceroy. In a few days Alvarado, who was impatient and scornful of any danger from the Indians, prepared his force, began his march and reached Nochistlan June 24. The cavalry was entirely useless, and the infantry could effect but little. He was defeated by the Indians the next day in an attempt to scale the rock, and in the disorder of the flight was accidentally wounded by a horse rolling down hill and striking him. It is generally considered that he died on July 4, but there is much doubt about the precise day.[42] His men scattered, some remaining in Mexico and many returning to Guatemala, but the ships were left and according to all accounts Mendoza took possession of them.

As the sole successor to the enterprise, no one appearing to claim Alvarado's interest, probably on account of the huge debts he had left,[43] Mendoza was now called on to carry out his agreement with the Emperor. It may be safely assumed that the principal interest of the Crown in making the contract with Alvarado had been to insure that an expedition be sent to the spice islands, that to the northwest coast being Alvarado's scheme. Coronado was still somewhere in the wilds of New Mexico and Mendoza was anxious to get in touch with him. Alarcon had returned by the middle of November, 1540, from his journey to the Colorado River without having accomplished this,[44] and instructions had already been issued to him as has been seen, to undertake another voyage up the gulf, which according to a later statement of Mendoza was to make a settlement on the Colorado River.[45] Haste was now made to despatch him again, as well as the other fleet which was to go up the outer coast, also charged with the duty of communicating if possible with Coronado and going on as far as possible. In spite of the fact that Juan de Alvarado had been designated to command this expedition, we have seen that a change for some unknown reason had been made and that Lopez de Zuñiga had been appointed in his place. Whether he ever went or not is not known, but from the fact that the references to the expedition mention it as having been under the command of Francisco de Bolaños, it is probable that another change was made after Alvarado died. Bolaños was one of Alvarado's men who had come with him from Guatemala

as chief pilot of the fleet. Lopez de Zuñiga, one of Alvarado's officers, was a soldier, and at that time the command of expeditions of such magnitude and importance was almost always given to one of that profession. There is evidence, however, that he had been placed in charge of a garrison at Etzatlan, and was still there in September when the expedition left.[46] If correct, this would furnish the explanation of his failure to accompany it.

Just before July 28, 1541, a letter written by Coronado, dated April 20, reached Mendoza. This letter is lost, but in that of October 20 written after his return from his expedition to Quivira, Coronado refers to it, stating that it had contained all the wonderful things he had heard from the Turk.[47] The Turk, so called, was an Indian slave whom Hernando de Alvarado had brought back to the camp from Cicuye on his return about the end of March of that year from his expedition to see the buffalo. The Turk said that he was a native of a country towards Florida where there was a river two leagues wide in which there were fish as large as horses and a large number of canoes with more than twenty rowers on a side. These canoes had at the prow a great golden eagle and carried sails, while their lords sat under awnings on the poop. He may have told some other tales, quite as wonderful, which Coronado passed on in his letter. This story was published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in 1550 in the first volume of his *Navigationi*, on the authority of a gentleman who said that he had seen at the Emperor's court in Flanders in 1541 a letter from Mendoza in which he wrote that Coronado had discovered the "Seven Cities" and that beyond toward the northwest after passing a great desert he had come to the sea, where he found some ships loaded with merchandise, whose sailors indicated by signs that they had been thirty days sailing there from their country. At the prows of these ships were some pelicans made of gold and silver. The story was also published in 1552, probably from Ramusio, by Lopez de Gómara, who in describing the Coronado expedition did so in such a way as to leave the impression that the towns visited by him lay in a line to the northwest instead of to the east and northeast. So it came about that the map makers in northern Europe, when they read his account, placed them in this way, the province of Quivira being on the coast near 40°. Later even Tiguex and Cicuic figured on the same coast farther to the south.[48] It seems difficult to believe that after the return of Coronado and the circulation by his numerous followers of the stories about the expedition to Quivira in the northeast anyone in Mexico could have thought that Quivira was on the northwest coast or in that vicinity, but the influence of the map makers was so strong that even as late as 1572 we find Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa calling the northwest coast Cibola and Quivira.[49]

The facts are, of course, that Coronado never went northwest after leaving the "Seven Cities" nor did any of his men ever reach any point within several hundred miles of the coast, nor is it possible to believe that Coronado ever said they did. Mendoza seems to have taken some stock in the tale, however, as it will be seen hereafter that Cabrillo at least must have had orders to look for some river, perhaps the Turk's river, two leagues wide, thus furnishing some proof that Mendoza thought this emptied into the Pacific Ocean. This river

seems to have become identified as the Rio de Nuestra Señora, a name applied to the Rio Grande by Hernando de Alvarado when he discovered it September 7, 1540, in honor of the Virgin, whose birthday is celebrated the following day. In his report he did not state in which direction it ran, and this uncertainty may have caused the misunderstanding.[50] If additional fuel had been necessary to fire Mendoza's zeal in his search for treasure, the story of the Turk must have furnished it, and Bolaños was despatched September 8[51] with at least three ships, a supplementary instruction having been issued to him or to Lopez de Zuñiga August 2. Mendoza explained the delay in sending out the expedition, which was to have left in the spring, by saying that it was due to discord among Alvarado's captains in New Galicia, but the real reason no doubt was the serious Indian situation.[52]

The instructions issued to Lopez de Zuñiga and Dovalle for this voyage are still extant. The language used in that to the former would warrant the belief that his appointment to command the expedition had been made by the Emperor himself, and such may have been the case, although no record of it exists. He had, however, as previously mentioned, received a direct appointment July 20, 1538, as *Contador* of the "Provinces of the West," and some other favors had also been granted him in subsequent cedulas. Dovalle was doubtless the Gonzalo de Ovalle, a *regidor* of the *Ayuntamiento* in Guatemala in 1539 and a man of some note who had come to New Spain with Francisco de Garay in 1523.

It might be assumed from reading this document that the chief object of the expedition was to discover and take possession of as much of the coast as possible for the purpose of bringing the Indians to the Christian faith. We can be certain, however, that this was only a minor one and that the real purpose was to find gold and silver and if possible to get in touch with Coronado who was somewhere in the north; how far from the coast was of course uncertain at the time. Being drawn up at least six weeks before Coronado's letter of April 20 reached Mendoza, it naturally contains no reference to any supposed town or river on the northwest coast in the neighborhood of 40° of latitude. Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero declared afterwards that when Luis de Castilla came to Navidad to deliver the ships to Bolaños, he gave him an extract from a letter to Mendoza from the Emperor in which he stated that a man imprisoned in Portugal had written him that he had discovered a strait somewhere in the north through which he had passed from one sea to the other. The natural inference would be that it was part of the business of Bolaños to look for this strait, and Ladrillero claimed that when the fleet turned back he wanted to go on and if he had been allowed to do so he would have discovered it.[53] There is nothing in the accounts of the expedition of Cabrillo, which followed immediately, to indicate that he had any instructions to look for any strait, but he evidently did have one to look for the Rio de la Señora. Perhaps Bolaños had similar ones, and Ladrillero, thirty-three years after he saw the letter Castilla delivered to him, confounded this river with the strait in the existence of which he manifested such an unbounded belief.

If we may credit the testimony of a witness in 1560, Alarcon was despatched the same day as Bolaños.[54] Of this voyage nothing more seems to be known. Mendoza himself said that his vessels were disarmed, thus implying that he never left, but he may have done so and gone back almost immediately on finding that his other ships did not follow him; that he never reached the Colorado River again seems certain. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the serious situation of affairs in New Galicia than the abandonment of this enterprise. All the soldiers and arms which could be collected were needed there. Mendoza himself was finally forced to take the field in person; his efforts were successful and the revolt was put down in the winter of that year and the spring of 1542.

While these events were transpiring in New Spain Cortés was in old Spain stirring up all the trouble he could for Alvarado and Mendoza. That he had just cause for his complaints is obvious, and that more attention was paid to them than is usually thought plainly appears from a letter of Mendoza himself. October 20, 1541, Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor's secretary, wrote him suggesting that he and Alvarado take Cortés into their partnership. May 10, 1542, Mendoza in acknowledging this letter did not embrace the idea with any great eagerness, nevertheless he wrote that he would not "flee from it." He gave Cobos authority to conclude the matter, but whether or not any further action was taken is unknown.[55] Cortés, however, continued his hostility or perhaps renewed it, presenting, July 6, 1543, to the Council a list of charges against Mendoza.[56] Cabrillo had returned to Navidad empty handed April 14 of that same year. Is it possible that Cortés had heard the news before taking this action?

In the interference of Cobos in this matter we can perhaps find the key to much that seems obscure in the history of these transactions. His wife was a Mendoza, although apparently not a near relative of the Viceroy; he was certainly a friend of Alvarado's and Cherino was one of his own followers. What relations if any he had with Cortés are unknown, but as the latter had sufficient influence at court to have his charges against Mendoza investigated it seems probable that Cobos was afraid of him and adopted this method of appeasing him. In the end it will be seen that all Mendoza's enterprises in search of wealth proved unsuccessful. His losses must have been immense and he soon had to render to the Emperor an account of his actions.

The idea usually held, and indeed one which is apparently confirmed by the opinion Villalobos, the Council's legal adviser, rendered in the proceeding in Spain initiated by Cortés in March, 1540, that the Coronado expedition was a government enterprise is a mistake.[57] Although Mendoza sent Coronado in the name of the King, this really meant no more than that he gave him what amounted to a royal commission; certainly the King bore no part of the expenses. These were provided by Mendoza, his friends and the participants; Cortés even afterwards charged him with having assessed the officials for part of them. All the interest the King had in it was his right to the fifths of any precious metals or other dutiable booty obtained, the same right he had in the

enterprises of Alvarado, Cortés, Pizarro, or Soto. Mendoza was just as much of an adventurer as they were, to use the word in its old sense as meaning one who adventured his capital in a speculative enterprise, and this no doubt was the cause of the breach between him and Cortés. The latter claimed a preferential right under his contract of 1529 to send an expedition to Cibola against all parties including the King himself. His chief opponents were the representative of Soto, who had a good technical claim, and the firm of Alvarado and Mendoza, who in this matter were represented by Villalobos or the Emperor's secretary, Cobos. Alvarado's agent in Madrid began an opposition, but it was purely perfunctory. It appears that the Council delayed action until Mendoza and Alvarado could be heard from, and it was not until May 13, 1541, that a period of thirty days was set in which the various parties had to present all their proofs. Cortés' representative appealed from this action and asked time to bring witnesses from New Spain. What happened June 13 is not of record, but the suit dragged on until 1544. March 15 of that year the Council issued an order that the order of June 25, 1540, be complied with and that the other matters be referred to the Emperor. Cortés was still seeking action on these October 23. By that time we can readily understand that all parties had lost any interest they might have had in the proceedings, events having demonstrated that the bone over which they were fighting had no meat on it.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

Bibliographical Note

The principal sources for writing this chapter are the contracts made by the Emperor with Alvarado of August 5, 1532, and April 16, 1538; Alvarado's letters of November 30, 1535, November 18, 1539, and March 28, 1541; Mendoza's letters of November 24, 1540, October 6, 1541, and March 10, 1542, and his instructions to Juan de Aguilar; the contract between Mendoza and Alvarado made at Tiripitio November 29, 1540; the instructions issued by Mendoza and Alvarado to Diego Lopez de Zuñiga and Gonzalo Dovalle April 29, 1541; the declaration of Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero made in Guadalajara, December 13, 1574; and an *Informacion* made at the request of a grandson of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in Guatemala in 1617-18, embodying a copy of another drawn up in 1560. Most of these documents are to be found in the archives in Seville. In 139-1-3 there is a small book containing Alvarado's contract of April 16, 1538, and copies of a large number of cedulas making appointments in Alvarado's "Province of the West" or granting privileges of one kind or another to him and his officials. At the end is the approbation of the Emperor of the agreement made between Mendoza and Alvarado at Tiripitio, dated July 26, 1541, the whole thus comprising what must be practically a complete list of all the cedulas issued regarding this project.

Most of the above documents will be found briefly calendared in *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de*

Indias de Sevilla by D. Pedro Torres y Lanzas, the recently retired chief of the archives. Some of the documents have been published in various works and such are specifically cited in the Notes.

The incidental allusions in the documents of the period to these various enterprises described are too numerous to mention. They are, however, important in many respects as furnishing details which have been passed over in the published accounts. The letters and petitions of Cortés and Guzman, the proceedings in the *visita* of Mendoza are full of these. The various lawsuits of Cortés with Guzman and the *oydores* of the Audiencia contain numerous documents about some of his expeditions, and the suit in Spain between Cortés, Guzman Soto and Alvarado about the rights of discovery in the north contains others. Many of these documents have been published in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Españolas en America y Oceania,* but many others of equal or greater importance still remain unedited. Some original documents of the period, notably some accounts of Guzman's progress up the west coast, were published by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta in his *Documentos para la historia de Mexico,* Mexico, 1858 and 1866.

Many of these documents were exploited in his *Conquest of Mexico* by William H. Prescott, who had in his possession either many copies of documents in the archives which had been made by Juan Bautista Muñoz, or else copies of his copies which still exist in the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid. Muñoz, however, apparently had not found the numerous files of Cortés' lawsuits, nor the documents of the *visita* of Francisco Tello de Sandoval. Arthur Scott Aiton in his recently published *Antonio de Mendoza* has made extensive use of the *visita* documents, but the proceedings in Cortés' various suits still remain to a large extent unexplored, although Mariano Cuevas has published a few stray documents contained in them in his *Cartas y otros documentos de Hernan Cortés,* Seville, 1915.

Notes

1. A short biographical sketch of Alvarado will be found in *An Account of the Conquest of Guatemala in 1524 by Pedro de Alvarado.* Alvarado, like Cortés, was not a *don* by birth.

2. José Milla in his *Historia,* Vol. I, 238, asserts that Cortés proposed to Alvarado to form a company to carry on discoveries. No authority is cited for this nor any date given but it appears that Milla intended to convey the impression that it was after Alvarado returned to Guatemala from Mexico in 1530 and therefore after Cortés' own contract of October 27, 1529, and before Alvarado's of 1532 had been made.

3. 139-1-1, printed in P. & C., XXII, 307 — It was signed by the Queen.

4. A copy of this letter made by Buckingham Smith is in the Bancroft Library among the Squier MSS. Alvarado gives a resumé of it in his letter of November 30.

5. 63-6-9; one of the amusing statements in this letter is that while in Peru he had lost 13,000 pesos to Almagro in gambling, which he had paid him, but when he came to be paid for his ships, the 13,000 pesos was deducted from the 100,000 due him, and the balance which was in bars of silver turned out to be half copper when assayed in Guatemala.

6. Made September 26 in Guatemala, 2-2-1/1, R. 66.

7. 1-2-1/4, R. 34, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, Docs. XXII and XXIV. Juan de Mazuecos, another survivor, had previously made a declaration September 17, 1534.

8. 1-2-1/4, R. 36, printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion,* V, Doc, XXVI.

9. He arrived in Lisbon, August 7, 1537.

10. Both his wives were relatives of the Duke of Albuquerque, his marriage with the first having been arranged by Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor's influential secretary.

11. *Sp. Vuelta que haze la tierra.* Presumably Alvarado meant a turn towards the east, as the expression usually did when used in this connection.

12. 139-1-3, printed in P. & C., XXIV, 339, and in part in *Col. Docs.*, Second series, II, Doc. 2. With the original are the cedulas growing out of it.

13. It is to be remarked that this cedula to Mendoza was not issued until October 3, 1539, but it does not seem possible that Mendoza had not heard of Alvarado's contract and its terms long before.

14. Certainly Cortés had some kind of understanding with Alvarado about his expedition of 1540. In his memorial of 1543 asking *residencia* against Mendoza, Cortés set out among other charges that Alvarado had come to Guatulco with a fleet of twelve or thirteen ships to take some 1500 quintals of biscuit, 2500 or 3000 hams, and many calves, sheep and pigs, and other supplies which Cortés had ordered to be given to him from his estate. 48-1-1/23, printed in *Escritos Sueltos,* 334. Mariano Cuevas also printed this as No. XXXIII, apparently from a copy in 1-1-2/16. He attributed it to the year 1542 but the original bears a notation attached to it: *"En Valladolid a Seis de Julio de 1543 Años."*

15. Cortés went to Spain either in December 1539 or January 1540 and on arrival at once commenced his proceedings in the Council to establish his rights under his contract of 1529 against those of Alvarado and Mendoza.

16. Hernando de la Torre died before the expedition left, but Bernardo de la Torre, who had also been with Loaysa, presumably also went with him as he accompanied Villalobos as captain of one of the ships. Bernardo was in Tehuantepec in December, 1539, in the pay of Cortés. As Cortés had brought some soldiers from Guatemala, perhaps he also brought him.

17. These cedulas in 139-1-3.

18. Alvarado's letter from Gracias a Dios, August 4, 1539, P. & C., II, 253, where he says he left Santo Domingo March 20.

19. 63-6-9, printed in *Col. Docs.* Second series, II, No. 1.

20. He was one of the principal witnesses examined in the *Informacion* in Guatemala in September, 1536, referred to in Note 6.

21. See the letter of Fr. Jeronimo Ximenez de San Esteban, *Nueva Coleccion,* Vol. I, 194.

22. Quoted in Milla, *Historia,* 310. Others were the *San Jorge,* the *San Antonio,* and the *Diosdado.* It will be noted that several of the names are those of individuals and not of ships.

23. Fuentes y Guzman, *Recordacion Florida,* Madrid, 1882. Vol. I, 147.

24. *Recordacion Florida,* Vol I, 152, states that Alvarado left Guatemala City for Acaxutla May 25, and sailed from there at the beginning of June, but Oviedo's statement quoted in the next note is more reliable.

25. Oviedo, *Historia,* IV, 20. He had some first hand information on the subject, and said that the ships were built at Ystapa and from there Alvarado went to Acajutla, from where he was to commence his voyage. Alvarado in his letter of March 28, 1541, wrote that he had with him nine ships with top masts, a galley and a *justa,* 1-2-2/15, R. 59. He did not say how many soldiers he had and the figures given by others are not, probably, any too authentic.

26. The cedula to him informing him of the fact was dated October 3, 1539, and so should have reached him long before August, 1540.

27. As Castilla was in Mexico October 15 according to the records of the Cabildo (Information from A. S. Aiton), he could hardly have reached Guatulco much before that date.

28. Cortés in the document cited in Note 14.

29. The only records found of the stop in Acapulco occur in evidence given by Luis Gonzales in the *Informacion* by Cabrillo's son in 1560, and in a later statement that one of Alvarado's small vessels had gone ashore in that port.

30. 48-1-9/31 (Kindness of A. S. Aiton). There probably is no foundation for Herrera's statement, *Historia, Dec.* VI, *Lib.* III, *Cap.* VIII, that Mendoza sent to Guatemala to call Alvarado to make an arrangement with him about discoveries. In *Dec.* VII, *Lib.* II, *Cap.* X, he also states that Alvarado went to Mexico by land to consult with Mendoza, sending the fleet to the coast of New Galicia with 800 soldiers, 150 horses, and some Indians.

31. 48-1-9/31 The charge that Castilla was refuting was one made by Cortés in the document cited in Note 14 and was as follows: "Constrained by necessity, the *Adelantado* went with his fleet to the port of Santiago, in the province of Colima, without taking

that food [i. e., in Guatulco] to hunt for a place where he could secure some food, and here also the Viceroy sent the before mentioned [Castilla and Cherino] and Augustin Guerrero his major-domo. They prevented him from taking supplies, to such an extent that those on board the ships left them and went away. Alvarado, seeing himself lost and without any remedy, gave the half of the ships and everything that was in them to the Viceroy, so that he would supply him with food."

32. Quoted by Oviedo, *Historia,* III, 540.

33. Letter dated Jalisco, March 28, 1541, 2-2-2/15, R. 59, printed in *Col. Docs.,* Second series, II, No. 1.

34. 1-1-2/21, No. 3, R. 2, printed in P. & C., XVI, 3-42. Approved by the Crown, July 26, 1541, 139-1-3, printed at the end of No. 2, of *Col. Docs.,* Second series, II. Tiripitio was an Indian town about seventeen miles southwest of Morelia, then known as Valladolid. Juan de Alvarado was the *encomendero.*

35. Villalobos was a son-in-law of Pedro Dircio, the brother of Martin Dircio who had married Mendoza's sister and was believed to have had a very rich mine.

36. *Recordacion Florida* states explicitly that this man was a nephew of Alvarado and went with him from Guatemala, I, 153.

37. A rather clear indication that the port was named at that time. In the first item of the instructions to Lopez de Zuñiga Navidad is called a "new port." It was undoubtedly on what is now known as Navidad Bay in lat. 19° 13′, about on the boundary line between the provinces of Colima and Jalisco. It was usually said to be in Jalisco, and this probably accounts for its selection by Mendoza, as Cortés always had a kind of claim to Colima, in which Santiago was located. Juan Fernandez de Hijar, the founder of Purificacion, not far from there, claimed about 1548 to have discovered it. There is no likelihood that it had been used before Alvarado arrived on the coast, in spite of the fact that Pedro de Castañeda in his account of the Coronado expedition said that Alarcon set sail from there in 1540. He probably mixed that expedition up with the following one of Alarcon which did leave there in 1541.

38. The above information is from Mendoza's answer to charge No. 36 against him, 48-1-2/24.

39. 2-2-2/15, R. 59.

40. This document is in the library of the Escorial and is translated in the Appendix.

41. Smith's *Varios Documentos,* No. I.

42. Milla, *Historia,* 318, discusses the date of his death, and concludes that it must have taken place about June 29, because he says Mendoza wrote July 5 to the Cabildo in Guatemala about his death. Herrera also gives the same date. Milla was mistaken about the date of the letter, which was July 15. Tello in his *Crónica,* 371, asserts that Alvarado's will was dated July 4, but it is not possible to place much reliance on his statements. Mendoza in his letter to Oviedo, Peralmildez Cherino in his to the Emperor of July 28, 1541, (58-6-9), and Santa Cruz in his *Crónica,* state that Alvarado died three days after the accident, while Oviedo, *Historia* IV, 26, himself said that he died eight days after being carried to Jalisco. In his answer cited in Note 38 Mendoza states that he died six days after the accident.

43. According to Question No. 261 of the fragment of the *Visita* published by Icazbalceta in his *Documentos,* some of the creditors began suit before the Audiencia and received justice.

44. Mendoza's letter of November 24, 1540, printed in P. & C., XVI, 342.

45. Mendoza in his answer cited in Note 38. He said: "As Juan Fernandez de Ijar wrote from Purificacion to the Port of Navidad that all the Indians were coming on that town, they disarmed three ships which were under sail to go with Captain Hernando de Alarcon to make a settlement on the Rio de Buena Guia, and to assist Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, because I had ordered Luis de Castilla in case of necessity to put aside everything even though the equipment and supplies which he had ready for those discoveries should be lost, and with the men to go to the relief of that province. He took the men out of the ships, and sent them to the relief of Purificacion, with the arms and munitions of those ships. As the men did not wish to go, he made them a new advance at my expense."

46. Tello, *Crónica,* 353 and 471. Mendoza in his answer; he added that Hernando de Alarcon was stationed in Autlan with thirty soldiers.

47. Translation in Winship's *Coronado Expedition,* Washington, 1896. Mendoza in his letter to Oviedo of October 6, 1541, in speaking about the progress of Coronado states that he had already reached 900 leagues from Mexico and "had heard that farther on there were many gold receptacles, pearls and great cities and houses and a country with very abundant food, especially cattle (of which they say there are more than in Spain)." He admitted that Coronado had not found any gold or silver but only some white and beautiful women and abundance of food.

48. A full account of this fable and its origin was published by the writer in the *Transactions* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1926, under the title *Some Imaginary California Geography.*

49. His letter from Cuzco, March 4, 1572, 1-1-2/33.

50. Winship, *Coronado Expedition,* 595. The original text first published in Smith's *Docs.,* and then in P. & C., III, 511.

51. The Cabrillo *Informacion,* evidence of Lázaro de Cárdenas, 1-4-34/3, No. 2, R. 4.

52. It is strange that Mendoza nowhere mentions the Bolaños expedition except in the most indirect manner.

53. *See* his evidence published by the writer in *California Voyages.*

54. Evidence of Francisco de Vargas in the Cabrillo *Informacion.*

55. *Cartas de Indias,* Madrid, 1877, No. XLV.

56. 48-1-1/23. It afterwards transpired that when Francisco Tello de Sandoval went out to New Spain with orders to investigate Mendoza's administration, these, with a few exceptions, were precisely the charges about which the witnesses were questioned, and were the ones which Mendoza labored to refute.

57. 1-1-2/21. The first part of this *legajo* was printed in P. and C., XV, 300 *et seq.* Iñigo Lopez de Mondragon the representative of Cortés filed a petition before the Council of the Indies March 1, 1540, asking that a royal order be despatched that no-one without the express license of the King or that of Cortés should go to the new countries which he had discovered (i.e. Cibola). Guzman himself and Alvarado's representative each filed similar petitions the same day and Soto's representative March 3. Luis Salido in the name of Compostela and the town of San Miguel filed another March 6. The petitions and letters presented by Mendoza's representative do not appear in the record. A large number of documents were now filed by various parties. April 21 the Council referred all the documents to the fiscal Villalobos for his opinion and this he presented May 25. His contention was that none of the parties had any rights, their claims being mutually destructive. It is in the course of this that he made the statement that "in effect each one asked for himself the new conquest of the cities which lately had been discovered by the hand of D. Antonio de Mendoza your Viceroy in New Spain who sent to discover them in your name." He seemed to think that this was sufficient to withdraw the territory from the field open to the various contestants, that is, merely because, as he alleged, Mendoza had sent Marcos de Niza, who was said to have discovered them, at the expense of the King. The point looks like a pure legal quibble, even supposing the fact had been true, which the writer very much doubts. Soto appears to have had the best right; the contract was made with him April 20, 1537, and even supposing that Cabeza de Vaca's story had not reached the court at that time, it certainly had before the Queen issued a cedula December 30 to Mendoza and all the authorities and individuals in New Spain to keep out of the territory allotted to him. This cedula was notified to Mendoza August 9, 1538, long before Niza set out. Possibly it was because of this order that Mendoza organized the Coronado expedition in the name of the King. That he did so appears from his own statement in one of his answers to a charge in the *visita* (48-1-2/24, fol. 58 verso). He did not say that the necessary funds came from the royal treasury, nor is there the least likelihood that they did, as the royal officials would never have permitted such use to be made of the King's property. The Emperor soon ordered him to take over the enterprise for his own account.

APPENDIX A

Instructions to Lopez de Zuñiga

What you, Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, lieutenant-governor and captain-general, have to do during the journey on which we, Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, and the *adelantado,* Don Pedro de Alvarado, governor of the Province of Guatemala, send you in our place, and in compliance with the contract and agreement which His Majesty ordered us to make with you for the discovery and conquest of the coast of the South Sea and the islands of the west is as follows:[1]

1. First, you will go to the new port of Navidad, on the coast of the South Sea of this New Spain, where are the ships named[2]..... [blank].....the ones you are to take, and receive them. Having received them you will take on board the supplies which we, the said viceroy and *adelantado,* have ordered to be prepared and assigned for that purpose. These you will divide among the ships in conformity with the number of people in each one, and deliver them before the notary of the fleet to those persons who in your opinion will give a good account of them, and then send us a certificate signed by yourself and by the said notary. [In the margin, "It should be before the purser of the fleet."]

2. You will make a list of the seamen going in the ships, and of the artillery, arms and ammunition which go in them, and deliver the said artillery and ammunition by inventory to the artillerymen, distributed among them as seems best to you so that they will take care of them and have them ready whenever it may be necessary.

3. You will also make a list of the rest of the people[3] who go in the fleet, distributing them among the ships as seems best to you, and you will inspect the arms which each one carries and have it all put down before the notary of the fleet.

4. You will deliver before the notary to the person whom we have assigned and named for that purpose all the trading articles carried in the fleet and order him not to dispose of any of them nor trade them with the natives of the countries you may discover, nor in those already discovered, except in your presence.

5. Take especial care that the name of Our Lord be not allowed to be blasphemed and that this be punished, as well as any public sins[4] if such be committed.

6. You will also take especial care that in the matter of our faith and

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[1] The general articles in the document are almost the same word for word as the general ones in the instruction issued by Cortés to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in 1532, and several are even like those he gave Saavedra in 1527.

[2] Five, including the *justa,* were intended by the instructions to be delivered to Lopez de Zuñiga. Ladrillero does not say how many actually engaged in the expedition, but there were at least three according to his account, one named the *San Gabriel.*

[3] *Sp., sobresalientes.* Plainly here these were all who were not sailors. The term was usually applied on board ship to servants and artisans and sometimes, if not always, included soldiers.

[4] *Sp., pecados publicos.* Blasphemy, living with a woman without being married, etc.

Christian religion there be no negligence nor laxity, as you see this is our principal purpose in the journey, and that you honor and reverence the friars[5] you have with you and take their opinion in such matters as may be to the purpose, in conformity with what His Majesty orders in his instructions.

7. Having received the fleet in this manner and having made sail from Navidad, you will follow the coast of New Spain to Chiametla, and proceed from there to look for the outside point of the Isla del Marques,[6] thence following the coast in quest of the Isla de Çedros where you will provide yourself with wood and water. Then, with the aid of Our Lord, following the coast closely as it opens up, you will from there onward all along make stops and take possession according to the minute[7] which for that purpose you carry with you, so that all the coast you leave behind may be inspected and known and notice be had of what there is, so that it may be ascertained which is the best. Before you make a settlement anywhere, endeavor to inspect[8] the country to find out thoroughly what there is in it, so as not to be deceived, and pass on if the aspect of it be not satisfactory. The method which you shall follow in going ashore in the country you may discover, will be as follows:

8. When you discover land, if you reach it at an hour when you can inspect it, do so, taking much care that you be not attacked by the natives, and in an open place so as not to be ambushed. In this manner you or those persons whom you shall select shall go ashore.

9. If you reach land or near it at night or so late that you cannot see well by daylight what there is, remain at sea, taking all the care which seems necessary to the chief pilot and the other pilots whom you have with you, and do not go to land except in full day, in order that your ships may not suffer shipwreck and you may not be tricked by the natives.

10. If, having arrived at such a land, you see that it is inhabited, and observe anyone on the beach or in the fields or any settlements, you will be very careful to see whether they have any ships or boats or other things with which to navigate, and until you find this out and are thoroughly informed about it, you will not go ashore for any reason whatsoever. If possible, make some signs with flags to those on shore, or in some other manner you think advisable, indicating that you desire them to come to you and that you cannot go ashore, so that they should thus make it manifest whether they have ships or anything with which to navigate.

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[5] These friars were no doubt Franciscans.

[6] Cape San Lucas, not yet named. Note the evident distinction between an outside and an inside point, and that the name "California" is not used. The Isla del Marques appears here to be the Peninsula of California as a whole, certainly the lower part of it, then thought to be an island.

[7] There was a regular established form to be used in taking possession. *See* an *acta* attached to the Ulloa document. The order to begin taking possession after leaving Cedros is good proof that none had been taken by Ulloa beyond that island. Cabrillo in the following voyage must have had a similar instruction, as his first possession was taken north of that island.

[8] *Sp., calar.* This expression was in very common use among the early explorers, and its exact meaning is not always clear. To *calar* a mine was to sink a prospect hole in it. To *calar* a port probably meant to go inside to get a prospect of it, but sometimes the word seems to have been used in the sense of making a chart or sketch of it.

11. If it should turn out that they have any ships and should come out to you, you will observe what manner of people they are, and if you can risk coming together with them to talk in such a way that you will run no danger or risk, you will do so, having your artillery ready and your people in a position to attack or to defend themselves, always making every sign of peace.

12. If you see that their ships are larger than yours, and they seem to you to display the art of a people civilized and warlike, you will keep away from them as far as you can, moving in the direction of this country, to prevent being captured by them, as such would be a great loss because, if taken, besides losing you, the information already obtained about the country would be lost.

13. If, however, you see that the ships of such people are like those used in these parts and in the islands, you will draw near them, making every sign of peace as ordered, and having come to talk, if their language should be one which you can understand and one in which they can understand you, you will tell them that you belong to a country very near them, whose lord is the greatest in the universe, the greater part of which obeys him, and that by order of two of his captains, who reside in these parts and had news of their country, you are going to see and find out what kind of people they are who live there and of what rule and rite and in whom they believe or worship, if they know of God, the Creator and Maker of all things, and whom they have for a temporal lord, and that when you have found this out you have to return to tell about it to him who sent you. Make plain to them in every possible way that if they desire the friendship and alliance of the captain[9] who sends you in the name of such a great prince as you have previously described to them, you can assure them that he will be their friend and keep with them a full alliance and confederation, and if they wish to come to trade with this country, bringing their products and taking away those which are here, they may very safely do so, and also that, having this indication from them, people will go from here to their country to trade, something which will prove very advantageous to them. Of the trading articles you carry, you will give them what seems best to you, showing them all the different kinds of your goods and taking great note of what they like the best, so that, Our Lord willing, on the return which you make yourself or send with more force, you can carry a greater quantity of such things.

14. You will also observe whether those persons who come to talk with you wear any ornaments, and see which are those they value the most, in order to take note of this as well. See if in any part of their dress they wear gold, pearls or precious stones,[10] and of what quality, but do not ask them for anything nor show yourself more given to one thing than to another of what you see on them, so that they may not cunningly take note of it, but, on the contrary, you will with much dissimulation take cognizance of the things which they hold in the greatest estimation.

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[9] Note here the singular, thus indicating that this paragraph had been rather carelessly copied from another signed by a single individual, no doubt that of Cortés.

[10] *Sp., piedras.* A word in general use at that time for precious stones.

15. If you find that they have no ships with which they can attack you at sea, go to land in a port or place where your ships can be safe and stay there some days until you can find out about the land, its customs, quality, people and all other particulars which may be possible, informing yourself if the country is an island or mainland, how large it is, if it has one lord or many, if there are wars between them, what kind of houses they have and everything else which in the circumstances you can find out, taking much care to keep your ships and people safe.

16. If you find a good country where you can make a settlement as ordered, you should remain settled there and send to discover farther on Gonzalo Dovalle, whom we have chosen for that purpose, having the necessary confidence in his character. Give him the ship of Juan Rodriguez,[11] the galleon *prieto* and the *fusta*,[12] part of those you are taking with you, and provide him with all the supplies possible and the artillery, seamen, soldiers and whatever else you think he will need for his voyage, so that as the person who has the business in hand he may not fail to secure the results which we desire in the service of God, Our Lord, and His Majesty, in conformity with our instruction, which Gonzalo Dovalle carries for that purpose.

17. If after Gonzalo Dovalle has gone on in this manner and you have news from him that he has found better country than the one where you may be, and it seems advisable to you to go there in person, you can go, leaving the settlement in as good order and security as you may be able, sending us advice of everything with full particulars, so that you may be aided with men and whatever else may be necessary, according to your needs. In order that this may be better done, you will send us your ships, but if it seems advisable to you that any of them remain there, let this be done. In the ships which come you will send us eight or ten Indians, natives of the countries you have discovered, to learn our language and see what is here, and you will also send the specimens and those things of interest native to the country that you have obtained.

18. You will labor by every means possible to leave contented and in peace the people by whom you pass, and in those places where they receive you and treat you the best you will endeavor to remain a shorter time, so that they may not be molested with your large party. In case, however, it may be necessary to stay there, take very especial care that no one go astray to injure them in any way.

19. Always lodge at some little distance from the towns and do not permit any soldier to go to them nor enter the houses of the Indians, inflicting grave penalties on whomsoever breaks this rule, which you will execute with all rigor, because for not having done so the Portuguese have suffered much harm

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[11] That is, Cabrillo, who commanded the subsequent expedition. According to the witnesses in the *Informacion* of 1560, Cabrillo had built a ship with his own money, evidently the one here referred to.

[12] Whether *prieto* was the name of the ship or referred to its black color is uncertain. A *fusta* was a small vessel with lateen sails.

in India, and have lost many towns and many nations. For this reason, even although your people get sick, they must suffer, for the advantage to be gained, and to avoid the inconveniences which usually occur when they do the contrary.

20. You will not permit the men to travel unarmed or in disorder. In your choice of places to make your camp look about well and keep a good guard night and day. As His Majesty is not well served nor wishes that anything should be taken from any Indians against their wish, and this is just, you carry a certain quantity of goods for barter with which to provide your people with necessities, and with which you will order necessary food to be bought when out of their good will the Indians do not wish to give it.

21. His Majesty gives the rule to be observed in dividing the Indians in an item of the instruction which he orders given to persons who are going to conquer and pacify new countries.[13] It seems that it would be inconvenient to do this before the country is pacified, since if so done, it would not be possible to have a good idea of the country and its qualities so as to reward each one according to his person and services. As has been experienced in New Spain and other parts, the people would occupy themselves in their private affairs and neglect the public ones, concealing the good and bad qualities of the Indians whom they have in *encomienda,* and paying more attention to what is convenient to themselves.[14] Mindful of this and other moving reasons, it seems to us that the said division should not be made until the land is pacified. This, then, you will see is done and complied with until you give us your report, when, after having seen it, we will inform you what is advisable.

22. The punishments you have to inflict on the people you take with you, be advised, should not be ignominious, because such break the spirits of men and from valiant they become cowardly, but they should be such as are corrective and not degrading.

23. You will be forbearing and affable to all and speak to them kindly so that they do not hold you in little esteem.

24. In affairs of war you will ask many about what is best to be done and hear from all what they have to say, but what you have to do you will communicate to few, and those only such as are the best disposed to you and have the most experience in the matters under discussion.

25. You will always try, in every place you reach, to find out about Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and if you obtain any news of his force, you will use every diligence in advising him of your whereabouts, and if he should have any need of men or of anything else you have with you, you will aid him, as it is proper you should do, because it is all one enterprise.[15] The same is being written to Francisco Vasquez to do for you if you should have need of him.

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[13] In 1526 Charles V issued a set of ordinances covering new discoveries, no doubt those here referred to. To grant the Indians in *encomienda* was usually the first thing a conqueror of new lands did, this in most cases being about the only reward the participants in the enterprise obtained.

[14] The meaning of this sentence is obscure.

[15] In the agreement between Mendoza and Alvarado, the latter had received the same interest in the expedition of Coronado from that time on as Mendoza had in his contemplated expedition. In a way both were directed to the same end — the search for accumulated treasure somewhere in the north.

26. As it may happen that the ships we are sending to the islands[16] might come to reconnoiter the coast where you are, be advised that wherever possible you should leave buried in the watering-places, ports, and points, some letters in a pot or jar underneath some tree on which you will mark a cross, and therein you will inform them and leave a record of the journey you have made and of the coast seen, so that the ship may have knowledge of it. If by chance the ship should come to where you are in person, or any of your force, you will supply them with what is necessary. You will not allow anyone on board to leave the ship or remain on land, or take anything out of her, but despatch her immediately to come to us to render an account of what they bring and of their voyage. Done in the City of Mexico, April 29, 1541.

DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA
EL ADELANTADO ALVARADO
Countersigned by Almaguer.[17]

On the second of August, the Viceroy, my master, added to this instruction the following: Look at your instruction and always keep in full what touches the service of the Lord our Master, but in the rest, as the person who has the matter in hand, you, the Señor,[18] may act in everything as seems best, without respect to the instructions, in such cases as it seems to you that there is some inconvenience in carrying out what is said in them.

[An inserted page]

[At the top is a line, evidently the last part of a sentence, *"fuere plaziendo a nro. S^or. descubrieren"* then begins:]

His Majesty in the contract which he ordered made with you for the discovery of the islands and provinces of the country and coast of the South Sea, ordered the following chapters inserted. As it is not our wish to exceed in any way what is contained in them, we order you to guard and comply with them as he ordered and as they are set forth in the said chapters.

[Three lines crossed out.]

Inasmuch as Gonzalo de Valle and the force which goes beyond with him on discovery and that which remains with you are all one, and it is just that those who are with him and those who remain with you, should have equal shares in any advantages there may be in the country when settled, you will see that this is done, because the same will be done with the force which remains with you in respect to the land which Gonzalo de Valle and his people may discover.[19]

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[16] This refers to the expedition to the spice islands contemplated at that time and afterward taken out by Villalobos.

[17] Antonio de Almaguer, one of Mendoza's secretaries. He received a direct appointment from the Emperor November 29, 1541, as treasurer of the "Islands of the West," 139-1-3.

[18] *Sp., vos Senor.* Perhaps "you as commander."

[19] This page is only a little over half the length of the other pages and is in a different handwriting. It was evidently addressed to Lopez de Zuñiga. The document is not the original but a copy to which additions were made by someone at the time they were received.

APPENDIX B

Instructions to Gonzalo Dovalle

What you, Gonzalo Dovalle, have to do, in the name of us, Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, and the *adelantado,* Don Pedro de Alvarado, governor of the Province of Guatemala, after Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, our lieutenant-governor and captain-general, has made a settlement in the discovery which he goes to make, is as follows:

1. In an item of the instruction which we are giving to the said Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, our lieutenant-governor and captain-general, we order him, when he has decided to make a settlement, finding the country adapted for such, to give you the ships and the *fusta* as set out in the instruction, namely, that of Juan Rodriguez, the galleon *prieto* and the *fusta,* with the supplies and force which seem best to him in accordance with the possibilities of the case. These having been delivered to you, you will keep the following order:

2. Having received the said ships in the manner above set forth, you will divide among them the supplies which Diego Lopez gives you in accordance with the force which each one carries, and make delivery of them before a notary to such persons as seem to you will give a good account of them, and of this you will send us a certificate.

3-7. The same as Nos. 2-6 of the preceding instructions except for verbal changes of no importance in Nos. 4-5.

8. Having received the ships and divided the force and the supplies in the manner above stated, make sail and with the aid of Our Lord continue the voyage along near the coast as it opens out, and in all parts make stops and take possession according to the minute you carry for that purpose, so that everything you leave behind you is inspected and known, and we may have advice of what there is in order to see which is best.

9. If, in following the coast and continuing the discovery, you should happen on a better land than the one where Diego Lopez de Zuñiga made a settlement, you will give him news of it with the *fusta* which you take with you, so that he can send the news to us and can go there himself, as we so order, in case it seems best to him, while you will continue your discovery as far as possible, taking possession in all those parts you may discover in the manner above stated. Do not content yourself with any place with which you fall in, even although it may seem a better one in which to stop, but go on, continuing your discovery as far as possible, as the advantage to be gained by your voyage and journey consists in discovering, inspecting and taking possession of all that you can. You will send or bring us all the samples you can find of the country you discover, no matter of what quality, so that we may know more particularly what there is in them. The order you will use in going ashore in the country you may discover is as follows:

10. The same as No. 8.

11. The same as the first half of No. 10, the next two pages, which contained the remainder and Nos. 12-17, evidently being lost.

12. The same as No. 18.
13. The same as the second part of No. 20.
14. The same as No. 22.
15. The same as No. 23.
16. The same as No. 24.
17. The same as No. 26, except that the phrase "to come to us to give us" is crossed out and "to come to me to give me" is written over it.[20]

Done in the City of Mexico, April 29, 1541.

DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA
EL ADELANTADO ALVARADO
Countersigned, Almaguer.

[Added in another handwriting:] If it seems to you best to stop in some one of the lands you discover, do so and send us advice of it so that provision can be made according to the account you send and what you write from there, and in addition, if it seems best to come here yourself and leave behind some persons, do so, if it seems proper to you and you see besides that it is advisable.[21]

[20] This change to the singular number indicates that the correction had been made after Alvarado died.
[21] This addition is in the same handwriting as that of the inserted page.

THE STORY OF A GOLD MINER
Reminiscences of Edwin Franklin Morse*

(Concluded)

Grass Valley from 'Fifty-Five to 'Fifty-Nine

After we gave up working the Ben Franklin mine in 'fifty-three, or thereabouts, I came back to Boston Ravine and worked some claims on New York Hill that I owned with Tom Cracklin. I boarded in my old cabin with the Barber family.[11] Later I worked a little on my claims in the flat below the North Star mine and on the extension of the North Star ledge, and boarded with the [J. C.] Delavans.

At the period of which I am about to tell, I was very intimate with Sam [P.] Dorsey, who was the express agent at Grass Valley. I was not mining at that particular time. I lived with Dorsey in his room back of the express office and acted as a sort of a clerk or helper although I was not a regular employee.

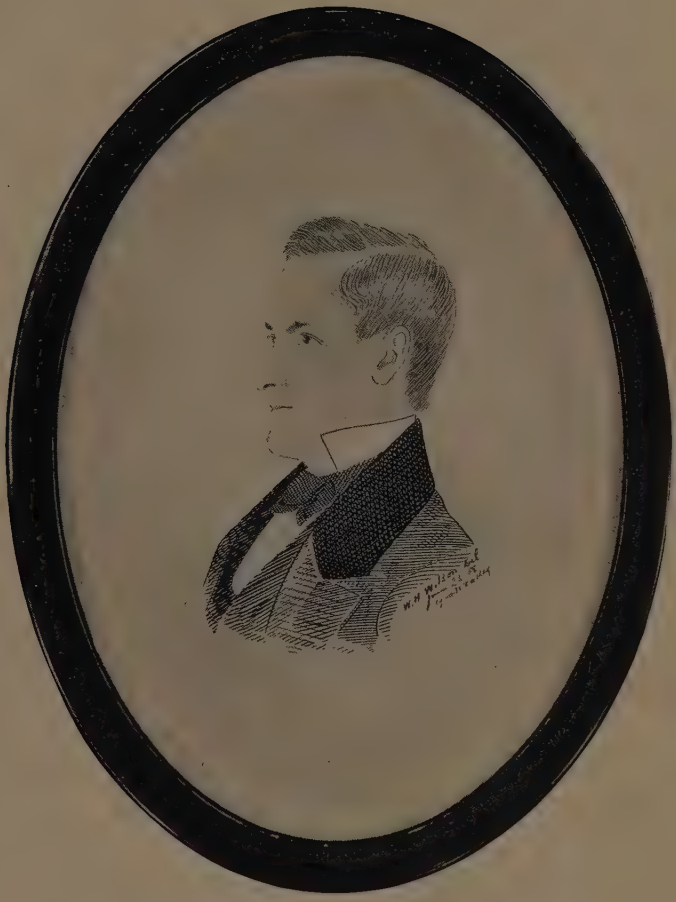
Once I remember, I took the place of the shotgun messenger, George Foster, for three weeks, as he was ill. I have often since thought what a fool I was to expose myself so needlessly to such danger. Any one wishing to rob the stage could and would pick off the shotgun messenger from ambush the first thing. Foster, however, never was attacked and his luck also attended me during my short experience.

A year or so previous some claims on Massachusetts Hill and others farther down the creek had been purchased by a New York company, and an Irishman by the name of Michael Brennan was sent out to superintend the working of the property. He was a very nice appearing, well educated man, with a very charming wife and three lovely children. The family soon became popular in a community where every congenial newcomer was doubly welcome. Brennan was no kind of a business man. He was inexperienced in gold mining. He had been a newspaper man in New York. He was excessively sanguine and so conceited that no one could tell him anything.

In the face of the advice of the most experienced miners, he insisted on sinking a shaft on the perpendicular which cost him thirty thousand dollars, whereas a shaft sunk on the incline would have been much better in every way and only a third as expensive. At first he did very well and paid a dividend or so, but his prospects did not warrant any such outlay of money as he deemed necessary. However, he put up a mill with sixteen stamps and expensive hoisting works and machinery, all of which in those days cost much more money than they do now. After his first success, he came on difficulties and failed to find the ledge as he had expected, though he searched in all directions. He was himself a large owner in the company and after they ceased advancing money for running expenses, he borrowed about thirty thousand or forty thousand

* Dictated to his daughter, Mary Phipps Morse.

[11] Joseph Tillinghast Barber came to California in 1851. His daughter, Mrs. Dorcas J. Spencer, is now living in Alameda and is a member of the California Historical Society.



Frank. Morse

dollars from M. [André] Chavanne on his own responsibility. Goaded to desperation, he kept hunting for pay rock, getting more and more deeply involved as time went on and his search was unrewarded. Moreover, Chavanne began to grow impatient and demanded some satisfaction for the mortgage he held on the property. So Brennan entered into an agreement by which Chavanne was to take over the mines and work them for a certain length of time and retain all the proceeds.

When the first month was up and Chavanne and his foreman had cleaned up the gold, Brennan suddenly appeared on the scene with his Irish foreman and demanded one-half of the month's profit. Chavanne said that was not the agreement and refused to accede to the demand, whereat Brennan and his foreman drove Chavanne and his man from the office and took possession. Not wishing to be involved in a fight, Chavanne left and came to Grass Valley to the express office to interview Dorsey, who was a friend of his. The Frenchman could speak but little English; Dorsey, however, was a native of Louisiana, of French descent, and spoke French fluently. I was present at the interview, and although I could not understand a word of what passed, I surmised from Chavanne's excitement and gesticulations that there was something wrong, so I asked Dorsey. On being told, I inquired if I could do anything. Dorsey said he told Chavanne he must take possession again.

"Well," said I, "let me take George Foster, your messenger, and I'll go down and take possession."

I myself had had trouble with Brennan, as he had worked over the line into my claim and I had commenced suit against him, so I welcomed this chance to get back at him. Foster and I went down and demanded admittance to the office.

"Who is it?" asked Brennan. We told him.

"You can't come in," said he.

"We'll come in anyhow if you don't open that door," I retorted.

"Wait a minute," he replied, and presently came out with his foreman and we took possession again for Chavanne. We had our blankets there, and Foster slept in the office and I in the mill for some time, until the trouble was satisfactorily adjusted.

Brennan was a ruined man and probably half crazed with his misfortunes. He decided on a desperate deed. He lived in a little cottage down the creek with his wife and family. One Sunday in February, 1858, neighbors noticed an unnatural quiet about the place and remarked that none of the family had been observed since Mrs. Brennan, who was a devout Catholic, had been seen returning from early mass.

Fearing something was wrong, they investigated. Getting no response to their knock, they entered, and to their horror discovered Brennan's body lying on the floor in the front room and his wife's on the sofa. In the adjoining room lay the bodies of the three little children. The oldest child was about eight and the youngest, two years. All were quite dead. In the back room stood the table with the remains of breakfast. Brennan, in desperation, had killed him-

self and his lovely wife and innocent children by administering prussic acid to them in the tea they drank for breakfast. Beside Brennan's body was found a loaded pistol, showing that he had prepared for all contingencies, and also a note stating that he could not face the world and go on any longer. So he had decided to end his life and to take wife and children with him, so as not to leave them to suffer poverty and disgrace.

In the absence of any living witness, it was impossible to tell whether he and his wife together agreed upon the horrible deed, or whether he alone dealt death to his little children and wife, who was again about to become a mother.

This tragedy created a feeling of profound horror. Mrs. Brennan, particularly, had been well liked. For although aware of his reverses, no one had imagined he would do such a dreadful deed. The five bodies were buried side by side in the cemetery, where their graves and the headstone with their names and ages are still to be seen.[12]

Brennan's mine was taken over by Chavanne, as satisfaction for the mortgage he held on it. As the story is usually told, Brennan had only to sink a few feet further to strike it very rich. This gives a much more romantic color to the tale; however, there is not a particle of truth in it.

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[12] Bean, in his *History and Directory of Nevada County* (1867), p. 207, says of this incident:

"Massachusetts Hill was worked at an early day to the water level, by several parties. Delano & Co., who were extensively interested on the hill, sold out in 1851 to Dr. J. C. Delavan, an agent of a New York company, known as the Rocky Bar, this company supplanting the Sierra Nevada Company. Delavan, as agent of the new company, erected a small mill on Wolf Creek, at the base of Massachusetts Hill. . . . It proved a failure. Dr. Delavan was succeeded as superintendent by a Mr. Whitney, totally inexperienced in mining and mining matters. He was soon succeeded by Mr. Seyton, who opened the mine and took out a large quantity of gold. Michael Brennan, whose tragic history we give below, succeeded Seyton as superintendent in 1856. In June, 1855, the Company took out a large quantity of ore which averaged seventy dollars to the ton. The name was changed to Mount Hope Company, an incorporated concern. Brennan, a member of the original company, having been sent out from New York as superintendent. In sinking a stringer he took out enough gold to pay the stockholders a dividend of one per cent. on a million dollars. Elated with his success, he built the Rocky Bar mill, put on expensive mining machinery, and sunk the celebrated Brennan shaft, which last piece of work cost over thirty thousand dollars. Brennan worked the stringer down to a depth of about two hundred and sixty feet, finding it, on the whole, a very unprofitable job. In addition to the investments made on Massachusetts Hill, he had erected machinery on New York and Cincinnati Hills, both of which enterprises proved failures. He had borrowed large sums of money from Andre Chavanne, giving Mr. C. a mortgage on the property. At last, driven to desperation by a combination of business reverses, and in a morbidly insane mood, he committed the crime of murder and suicide. On Sunday, February 21, 1858, Brennan, his wife and three children — embracing the entire family — were found dead at the family residence. The corpse of the murderer and suicide, Brennan, lay on the floor of his parlor, that of his wife on a sofa in the same room, while the three lifeless children were in adjacent rooms. Prussic acid, which Brennan had procured in San Francisco and Sacramento, had been the agency in this wholesale life destruction. By Brennan's side was found a loaded pistol, cocked, with which, it is reasonable to suppose, he either intended to take his life in case he failed with the poison, or designed using should any parties detect him in his fiendish act and attempt the frustration of his horrible scheme. He left a letter explaining the cause of his terrible act, complaining of his bad luck, asserting that he could not bear the thought of leaving his wife and children to buffet disgrace and poverty, also expressing regret that he was unable to take his mother and a sister in Europe, who were dependent upon him for a maintenance, with him on his long journey. Brennan, who was an Irishman by birth, was a man of extensive erudition, and for several years was connected editorially with the press of New York City, officiating at one time as phonographic reporter for the New York Herald."

Brennan would never have made a fortune out of that property, as the ledge dipped out of his ground and came in very rich in the claims owned by the Watt brothers [William and Robert] and their partners [Joseph O'Keefe and John Judd].[13]

As the Brennan shaft drained the Watt mine, Chavanne contracted to hoist their ore for them. He also had a mine farther down the creek near the Rocky Bar property. After I assisted him in his trouble with Brennan, he gave me a position as mill-man and I worked for him two years. Dorsey and I often dined with Chavanne in his cabin on Sundays. He lived in some style for that day and had a billard table among other things. In 'fifty-eight and 'nine, I think, Chavanne shut down his mill for repairs. That threw me out of a job. As two men had come down from Chips's Flat in Sierra County to get a man for amalgamator, I went to Chavanne and told him I would like to go.

He replied to go by all means, as his mill would not be running for some time; so I went. I was to receive five dollars per day wages. I took the stage up to Lake City. From there the deep snow forced us to proceed on foot up into Sierra County.

Chips's Flat is on the opposite side of the ridge from Alleghany and was an ordinary little mining camp. Here I passed an uneventful winter.

I came back to Grass Valley in the spring in company with a man named Smith who had made some money and was going home to the East.

He was a silversmith by trade and in the intervals of mining, often employed his leisure in making little silver spoons for bartenders to use in mixing drinks.

Some time previous, my older brother Charlie had come out from the East with his wife and her family. They were established at the Navy Yard on Mare Island, where his father-in-law Jesse Sawyer, and later he himself, was naval storekeeper, an office now abolished. He had just written me of the birth of his son and my namesake, little Frank Morse, and I wished to present him with a suitable gift. I accordingly asked Smith if he would remain over a day in Grass Valley and make me a spoon. He willingly agreed and we spent all the forenoon in Campbell's blacksmith shop making a mold and punch and manufacturing the spoon from two twenty-dollar pieces which I gave to him to melt up.

When finished, it was a very pretty spoon of perfectly plain gold and about the size of the ordinary papspoon. It contained thirty-two dollars' worth of gold. As Smith would take no pay, I insisted on his keeping the remaining eight dollars' worth of gold for his trouble. So my nephew had a spoon of California gold made in a blacksmith shop in Grass Valley — quite a curio. My brother Charles later took the spoon East, where another brother, Henry, did some ornamental engraving upon it, and our father, Hazen Morse, inscribed the child's name.

During my brother Charlie's residence of nearly twenty years at the Mare

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[13] Bean says, however, that "In April, 1864, the Massachusetts Hill Company struck the ledge in the bottom of the Brennan shaft, at a point but a few feet from where Brennan had hopelessly abandoned work" (p. 208).

Island Navy Yard, I was a frequent visitor at his home. He was delightfully situated there. He kept cows and poultry, and I remember how I used to enjoy the delicious milk. I was in the habit of spending some time there each winter and hunting ducks with my brother in the tule marshes. The social life at Mare Island was charming, and my brother and his family entertained a great deal. I met all of the navy people from the lowest rank to the highest, including Commodore, afterward Admiral, Farragut.

In early days all that portion of Grass Valley toward the present railroad station and Hill's Flat had not been built upon. A sawmill owned by John Bennett was the only building in that vicinity.

In most of the settlements of that time the majority of structures were poorly built, flimsy affairs, with rude puncheon floors, made of slabs of wood hewn out of a log and having the edges roughly sliced off with an adze. Such were the floors the first settlers of the plains made for their cabins. In Grass Valley, however, timber was good and plentiful, and although the first miners built their cabins of logs, it was not long before well-built and substantial buildings were erected.

One of the first sawmills was built by Mr. Wheeler[14] on the site where Hodge's Brewery now stands. He constructed a dam across the creek back of the mill, and where Taylor's Flume is now he floated logs down the creek. It was from him I purchased the lumber for my cabin on Massachusetts Hill, the first one built of lumber in Grass Valley. He later moved his mill farther up the creek.

Soon after the completion of the first sawmill, Wheeler began the house near by for the occupation of his family, whom he intended to bring from the East. This was the first two-story frame dwelling house erected in Grass Valley. It was modeled on the substantial Eastern plan with stone foundation pillars and heavy beam framework. The first winter I was in Grass Valley it was still unfinished and was used as a meeting-house. I recollect often, in passing the house evenings in going to and from Boston Ravine, to have heard the praying and singing.

The following spring, as he was expecting his family, Wheeler rushed the work of completion. He was obliged to engage unskilled men to do the work, as skilled workmen could not be obtained, and in consequence the interior furnishing was very rough and poor. But that did not trouble him. In those days no one thought of remaining in California permanently. The universal idea was to make enough money to enable one to return "home," as we always called the eastern States, and live comfortably.

When finished, Wheeler's house was quite different from what it is now. It had not only the same piazza running all around it, but an upper one around the second story and supported by pillars. The present ell with the kitchen was added later, the kitchen then being on the back of the house.

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[14] Bean (p. 187): "The first saw mill in Grass Valley was constructed by Judge Walsh, in July, 1850, of which G. P. Clark was engineer, and Zenas Wheeler, wheelwright. It was built in Mill street, on the ground now occupied by the City Brewery."

After the Wheelers had lived there some time, the Robinson family came out from Maine. Mrs. Wheeler was a sister of Mrs. Robinson. When the Wheelers left Grass Valley, the Robinson family took the house. In 'fifty-nine or thereabouts, I went to board with them and lived there in that house, barring various periods of absences, for nearly forty years.

I was acquainted with very few young ladies at that time; indeed, there were not a great number to know. After I went to live with the Robinsons, I was naturally thrown a good deal in the company of their daughter Abbie, a very pretty and well educated girl. She was a fine musician, gave music lessons and also played the organ in the Congregational Church. As she permitted me to act as her escort to and from church, it goes without saying I was a very regular attendant; much more than I would otherwise have been. The Congregationalists had some very good preachers, among them being the Rev. Martin Kellogg. He was afterwards president of the University of California, and he was pastor at Grass Valley in the 'sixties. At about the time that Abbie Robinson and I became engaged, her father and I bought the Wheeler house, although Abbie and I were not married until some time later.

A town built entirely of wood, as was Grass Valley, and with poor facilities for fighting fire, naturally suffered some severe conflagrations, the most disastrous of which happened in 1856, when the whole of the business portion of the town, comprising the upper part of Mill Street and all of the lower portion of Main Street, was laid in ashes. The present Holbrook Hotel and the structure now containing Granger's Store and then a liquor house, the only brick building in town, alone remained standing. It was a most disastrous conflagration and many lost all their possessions.[15] The burned area was soon rebuilt, however.

In those days, there lived in a little glen or hollow out near Ophir Hill, a gang of suspicious characters led by a woman known as Jennie of the Green. They were commonly reported to be thieves and desperate men. I doubt if they were anything more than horse thieves. Jennie and her companion, a man, Frank Moore by name, were quite well known, and he was a very pleasant appearing fellow. A friend of mine, by the name of McClanahan, became involved in a quarrel with Moore one night in a saloon in Grass Valley, the woman, Jennie, being the cause. McClanahan, who was a good deal of a "fire-eater" and rather gloried in the distinction, left the place vowing vengeance, and presently returned. As he entered the door, Moore saw the butt of a revolver protruding from under McClanahan's waistcoat. Knowing of his threat against him, Moore drew his own weapon and fired. McClanahan was mortally wounded. He staggered out and sat down on some nearby steps, where he expired. Moore had been perfectly justified in his action, as I always felt he shot in self-denfense, and under any ordinary circumstances no action would have been taken against him.

Owing to Moore's unsavory reputation and the great popularity of his victim,

[15] Bean says (p. 189) that the most disastrous fire occurred on September 13, 1855, and that over three hundred buildings, covering an area of thirty acres, were consumed in one hour and fifteen minutes. The loss was estimated at over $350,000.

public sentiment was not in his favor. He was arrested, tried, convicted of murder, and sentenced to be hanged. While awaiting his execution in the county jail at Nevada City, he was visited by Jennie of the Green, his former companion, who, it was supposed, smuggled poison to him. He was soon after found dead in his cell. The gang was broken up and scattered shortly after these events.

Due to the similarity between my name and that of McClanahan's slayer, the news traveled back to my old home in Haverhill that I had shot a man, and I heard of it from there.

I once made the acquaintance of a certain Captain Gordon, who was accustomed to making occasional visits to my friend Haywood. He had a mine not far from Grass Valley. He was a handsome, gentlemanly appearing fellow of agreeable manners and he made himself very well liked. Although he loved the title of Captain and was evidently a seafaring man, he was very reticent about himself. An air of considerable mystery surrounded him. He was, however, a drinking man, and when in his cups became very communicative. By his indiscreet boasting, he revealed the fact that he was the master of a slaver trading between Africa and Rio de Janeiro. On one occasion I heard him tell of his narrow escape from an English man-of-war, which pursued him as he was nearing Rio while on a return trip from Africa with a cargo of blacks. Finding himself hard pressed, he beached his vessel in a little bay below Rio and ordered the negroes brought up. As they did not emerge fast enough, he had a fire built in the hold and smoked them out like rats. He then ran them all into the interior and thus saved his cargo. He boarded, when not engaged in his nefarious trade, with Haywood's mother in Portland, Maine. Haywood told me that Gordon had brought her home magnificent presents of gold plate and similar costly articles, which had been presented to him by the merchant princes of Rio de Janeiro in token of the valuable services he rendered them in bringing such fine cargoes of blacks for the slave markets.

For some reason or other he took a great fancy to me, and on his last visit to Grass Valley we went for a long tramp over the hills, during which he grew very confidential. He made the suggestion that I accompany him on his approaching voyage, and endeavored to show me my folly in remaining in Grass Valley and attempting to make money in the mines, whereas, if I would go with him on his approaching voyage he would guarantee me a fortune in a few years. I remonstrated that I had no knowledge of nautical matters and that I failed to see what manner of use I could be to him on board ship. To which he replied to leave that to him and he would see that I did not regret it. Knowing what I did of him, however, I declined his flattering offer with thanks.

Soon after that interview he left Grass Valley and sailed on what proved to be his last voyage. He was captured by a cruiser and taken to New York, where he was tried, convicted, and executed in spite of the money and efforts of rich and influential friends. This was soon after the beginning of Lincoln's administration.

In the 'fifties many of the famous actors and singers came to California and

all of them included Grass Valley in their itinerary. Among the first theatrical people to appear were Robinson's Family, then very popular variety, or what we would now call vaudeville, performers. They resided in Grass Valley some time, and I remember that Sue Robinson, whose specialty was dancing and singing, was a particular favorite.

The reception accorded any actor or singer who pleased the public fancy was most enthusiastic. I have frequently seen an audience of miners so carried away by their delight at a performance that they flung five-, ten-, and even twenty-dollar pieces on the stage — a veritable golden shower. Among the celebrated singers who charmed us with their art were Mmes. Anne Bishop and Kate Hayes. In the early 'fifties, Edwin Booth, then a young and very handsome man, appeared, and I went to see him, although not for the first time, as I had witnessed a performance of his at the Boston Museum before I left home. He was stranded in Grass Valley and was obliged to remain there a couple of weeks. I used to see him about the hotel and I was introduced to him also. I became quite well acquainted with a young member of his troupe, a splendid looking fellow. He used to be a frequent visitor to a fellow townsman of his in Boston Ravine and was delightful company, but strange to say I cannot now recall his name.

Some time later Lola Montez, the world-renowned dancer, arrived in town. She was said to have been remarkable in her spider dance or tarantella, but I never went to see her. She was a woman with a most remarkable career. As her name indicated, she was, or claimed to be, part Spanish, and she was said to have Irish blood in her besides. But personally, I doubt if she knew her own parentage.

Previous to her coming to this country, she had been the mistress of the King of Bavaria and was entitled to be called Countess of Lansfeldt, he having bestowed that rank upon her. His long-suffering subjects had at length risen in their wrath and forced their sovereign to give up his scandalous relations with her and she was obliged to leave the kingdom. So she was again on the stage and touring America. When she came to Grass Valley, a man named Johnnie Southwick was connected with the since-famous Empire mine. He had accumulated a snug little sum of money and became deeply infatuated with the dashing dancer, Lola. She was no fool and she knew a good thing when she saw it and that good thing was Johnnie Southwick, while his money lasted. Since she might no longer bask in the smiles of royalty, she condescended to an ordinary mortal.

Southwick purchased a little cottage on Mill Street and established her there. As it was directly opposite the Robinson's house, where I was then living, I had ample opportunity to observe and become acquainted with the dancer.

She furnished the place in great style for that day, spending three or four thousand dollars of Southwick's money. She also had a magnificent flower garden. Being a very lively person, she furnished the people of Grass Valley with plenty of entertainment with her various escapades and eccentricities.

She kept a young bear chained to a stump in the front yard. She evidently did this for effect, and to make people think she had a fondness for ferocious pets. In reality, she was mortally afraid of the brute and used to stand at a good safe distance when she fed him, throwing his meat within reach, although the bear was only a cub and anything but fierce.

Lola was said to exercise a great fascination over men, but for my part I failed to see her charms, notwithstanding the fact that I had quite often held conversations with her over her gate and had plenty of opportunity for observation.

She had undoubtedly been a beautiful woman, but her charms were then beginning to fade. She still retained a slender and graceful figure. She had heavy black hair and the most brilliant flashing eyes I ever beheld. When carefully dressed and gotten up, she was still very handsome, but ordinarily she was such a slattern that to me she was frankly disgusting. When attired in a low-necked gown, as was her usual custom, even her liberal use of powder failed to conceal the fact that she stood much in need of a good application of soap and water.

I was always tall and in my youth exceedingly thin, though one would scarcely credit it now, and these characteristics led Lola to give me the nickname of "the Greyhound," which stuck with me for some years. Before that, many of my friends called me "Boston." In that day nicknames, mostly expressive of the State or town from which a man came, were almost universal, and I had an acquaintance of years standing with some men whose real names I never knew.

Lola Montez frequently entertained, her guests being all men, as no woman recognized her. When the great violinist, Ole Bull, played in Grass Valley she gave an evening musicale in his honor. I did not attend the public concert, nor was I favored by Lola with an invitation to her evening, but sitting on my porch across the street, I plainly heard the strains of the master's violin.

I well remember Ole Bull's appearance as he came swinging down the street with great strides. Southwick trotted along at his side and tried to keep up with the tall, raw-boned Norwegian with the long, fair hair.

Some of my friends told me later that one evening in the hotel the conversation turned on violin playing as a muscle developer and that thereupon Bull gave some wonderful exhibitions of the marvelous power of his right arm.

In course of time the fickle Lola tired of her lover whose money was almost exhausted, and of her quiet life, and decided to tour Australia. The venture proved disastrous, and returning to San Francisco, she came to Grass Valley. With an utterly heartless disregard of her former lover, now a sick and ruined man, she sold the house, which Southwick had deeded to her, over his head, and departed from Grass Valley, never to return.

Mr. [Solomon Dewey] Bosworth bought the house just as it stood for a mere song, and moved his family into it. The little straight-backed parlor chair that we have in our possession formerly was a part of Lola Montez' parlor set.[16]

[16] Mr. Bosworth's son, now in business in San Francisco, still has some of the Montez furniture.

After she left Grass Valley she gradually sank lower and lower, and finally died poor and friendless in New York City.

Some years later the actor John McCullough and Mrs. Kingsbury were playing in town and the latter came down to my house and asked permission to sketch the Lola Montez cottage from there. She came two or three times, and McCullough accompanied her and sat on the piazza chatting with me. He was fine looking and a most entertaining conversationalist.

At a later period than this, Lotta Crabtree, the famous actress who spent her early life in Grass Valley, also first began her theatrical career here. I was not personally acquainted with her, although I knew her by sight. I believe she left about the time that the Central Pacific Railroad was opened in the late 'sixties.

My most vivid impression of all the public persons who ever visited Grass Valley was that of Starr King, who appeared there in the Congregational Church during his famous lecturing tour of California, which was so instrumental in saving the State for the Union at the time when Southern sentiment and Southern influence was strongest.

Judging from his youthful appearance, one would have formed but little idea of the tremendous power and eloquence of the man. But for wonderful and impressive oratory, I have never heard his equal, either before or since. He had been, in New York, a personal friend of my brother Moses, but I did not attempt to make his acquaintance.

Life in Nevada from 'Fifty-Nine to 'Sixty-Four

The first great excitement concerning the mining prospects in the State of Nevada broke out in 'fifty-nine. Previous to this time, some prospecting had been done by the Grosh brothers [Hosea B. and Edgar Allen Grosch]. But it was not till the search for gold by Henry Comstock and companions was rewarded by the finding of the ledge, afterwards known as the famous Comstock Lode, that any excitement was aroused.

John Stone, a well-known citizen of Nevada City, California, who was with the discoverers at the time of the find, returned home to Nevada County, California, bringing some specimens of the ore which he submitted to J[ames] J. Ott of Nevada City and Mellville Atwood, both competent and experienced metallurgists and assayers. The latter was an acquaintance of mine. They both pronounced the specimens extremely rich in gold and silver, the latter predominating.

As soon as the truth concerning the newly discovered mining district became known the excitement was intense, particularly in Grass Valley, Nevada City and vicinity. It is said that during the next two years, two-thirds of the male population of Nevada County went to try their fortunes in the Comstock.

In the winter following the news of the discovery I determined to see how I would fare in the new country, whither so many of my friends had already gone. At the time there were no roads and the stage lines of the future had not

been established; so the only method of crossing the Sierra Nevadas was on horseback.

I accordingly went down to Placerville, from which town Bill Hamilton[17] of Grass Valley was about to take a pack-train over the mountains. I paid him forty dollars for the privilege of riding over in his train on a horse that was not worth twenty dollars, and thus made my way into Virginia City. At that early period of its existence it was a city of tents. There were a few poorly constructed wooden buildings and one of stone that was used as a gambling-house.

I spent the first night there with friends. About midnight I heard a number of pistol shots, evidently issuing from this stone gambling-place opposite, but as such an occurrence was no novelty in a new camp I gave it no further thought. In the morning as I stepped out of my friend's home I observed the body of a man lying on the sidewalk outside the gambling-place. Impelled by curiosity, I walked across the street and lifted the blanket that had been thrown over the corpse.

I had not supposed for an instant that it was anyone whom I had ever seen and was much astonished to find myself gazing into the face of a little gambler I had known in Grass Valley by the sobriquet of "French Pete." He had been a jolly, pleasant-appearing fellow, and for one of his calling he was liked there, but I guess he was a "sharper" at cards and this had involved him in the quarrel of the previous evening, which had ended in his receiving a bullet between the eyes.

Virginia City was at that time a very disorderly place and full of tough characters. Scarcely a night went by without one or more shooting scrapes which ended fatally for someone. The victims were usually gamblers or their dupes who were friendless and obscure. No attention was paid to the murders, for in a community of such desperate men and dead shots most people found it healthier to attend strictly to their own affairs.

I think the worst character in Virginia City at that time was a man named Sam Brown. He was an out and out desperado and had four or five unprovoked, cold-blooded murders in the score against him. If any of his victims had been at all prominent he would have been given short shrift. Even though the dead men had been of the lower ranks of life, the brutality and utter lack of motive of the killings had aroused public indignation. Therefore no one felt regret when he left Virginia City for Esmeralda, and on the way met a well-deserved end. During the trip to Esmeralda, Brown stopped for refreshments at a wayside house kept by a man named Van Sickle. While standing at the bar he looked at his host and casually remarked that he had only killed five men so far and he thought he might as well have another on the list. Van Sickle did not agree with this bloodthirsty opinion, and, aware of the man's desperate character, watched his chance. Seizing his gun, he slipped out the back door, lay in wait for Brown a little way down the road, and shot him from ambush as he was passing.

[17] He was the owner of a stage line.

Much satisfaction was felt by all who knew of Brown, at the fate he so richly deserved. His slayer ought to have received a vote of thanks for having rid the country of such a reptile.[18]

I was taken sick soon after I reached Virginia City. An acquaintance of mine, by the name of Stonehill, was also ailing, and at his suggestion we went down to Steamboat Springs to try the mineral baths there.

This famous natural wonder is about twelve miles or so from Virginia City, and at that time, not many years after its discovery, it was in the possession of a Dr. Harris, who had a little hotel and two or three bath houses there. The springs issued from a fissure in a limestone formation and the rocks were white with a coating of soda deposit. The action of the springs was intermittent, now boiling up and throwing spray high in the air, then remaining quiet for a space, fluctuating like the tide of the sea. I took one or two of the steam baths and thought I should smother.

The Piute and Shoshone tribes of Indians were on the warpath during my stay at the Springs, and the country was much exercised over their depredations. At the first alarm, Dr. Harris hastened to Virginia City for safety, and soon the few other inhabitants followed suit. Stonehill and myself were left behind as we did not scare so easily. We continued to stay on, until finally, tiring of the solitude, we caught a couple of jackasses that had been turned out to graze and rode them down (?) to Virginia City.

Here I went to live in a tent. It was made of scantlings and poles covered with canvas. There lived in this same tent, Tom Pegg, the man who discovered the celebrated Idaho Mine of that place, and the Roberts brothers.

When I reached Virginia City a company was being organized to go out and chastise the Indians. Among the prime movers was a young lawyer from Nevada City, a splendid young fellow named Meredith, a friend of mine.

I never made a practice of carrying fire-arms, but when I left Grass Valley for Virginia City my friend Dorsey pressed upon me a large dragoon pistol, saying it might come in handy. Meredith, knowing that I had it, came to borrow it for the expedition and remarked laughingly that he would return it in a few days if the Indians did not get his scalp. He never did. The party was set upon at Pyramid Lake and most of them fled. Meredith, however, scorning to turn his back on a redskin, stood his ground and was killed.

At that early period of settlement, all the vicinity of what is now Virginia City and Carson was known as Washoe. Hence the festive mule who sang his lusty hee-haw was known as a "Washoe Canary" and the gentle little cyclones that gamboled over the plains received the expressive title of "Washoe Zephyrs." After the establishment of the railroad, one of these is said, in a playful mood, to have blown a train bodily from the track.

For this story I cannot vouch, for I was not there; but I was present when

[18] Wm. M. Stewart, in his *Reminiscences* (p. 133), after relating the story of the killing of Brown by Van Sickles, declares that "There was great rejoicing in the whole country over the act of Van Sickles, and as a reward he was elected Sheriff of Douglas County as soon as the county was organized."

a "Zephyr" blew over a half-finished two-story house which a man was constructing next to our tent. The accident occurred while we were all in bed. The timbers and scantlings, many with jagged, broken ends, fell all around us, even pinning one or two of us down. By a singular chance, none of us was injured.

The expense of living was very high, and hotel and lodging-house keepers made money. Just below our tent a man had erected a large two-story scantling and canvas structure with bunks to accommodate forty or more men. He charged a dollar per night.

I soon learned that there was little or no chance in this new camp for a man unless he had capital to back him. Mining development was too costly, so I decided to return home. I accordingly secured a place in a pack-train which was leaving for Grass Valley, Cope Dorsey, a brother of my friend Sam, being the only other passenger.

In crossing the Sierra, we encountered a terrific storm, rain was accompanied by one of the worst electric disturbances I ever saw. The lightning was striking all through the timber on the mountain side above the trail.

We made Jackson's ranch and put up for the night. The previous winter a large band of sheep had perished in a snow-storm near there, and now that the spring had come, the men were digging out the carcasses and skinning them. The fleeces were piled up in the loft where we slept, and we made our beds on some, covering ourselves with others.

During our trip over the mountains, we passed through Meadow Lake[19] and found a veritable deserted village. The year before there had been a great excitement over the mining prospects in that vicinity and a corresponding rush to the new camp. Like many another "boom," they proved to be only "prospects," and poor ones at that. The camp was abandoned by the disappointed gold-seekers with the same haste and eagerness they had displayed in getting there. Owing to the impossibility of hauling household goods out of there in the deep snow of winter, everything had been left as it stood until the spring should open the roads and permit the passage of wagons.

As we passed through we could see the cabins and houses with all the necessary furnishings for human habitation, and no sign of man's presence. The greater part of the furniture was of the rudest description. One sight which struck me as odd, was the presence of a piano forlornly stranded in a bar-room or dance hall.

When we reached Lake Tahoe we found some men fishing. I purchased eight or ten dollars' worth of trout from one old fellow and took them down to

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[19] Bean (pp. 305-34) gives a "Sketch of Meadow Lake Township," a list of the principal mines, and a Directory.

A pamphlet in the Templeton Crocker collection entitled *The Meadow Lake Mining District* and issued by The Fryer Noble Metal Mining Company, New York, about 1875, reprints an article, "A City of a Day," from the *Overland Monthly* of November, 1874, giving the history of the rise and decline of Meadow Lake, and adds "The success of the *Fryer* Process in working the "Meadow Lake" ores is again attracting public attention to that district and it is destined soon to become of great importance as a centre of gold production."

Grass Valley in a wooden box. I left the box at the stable while I went home, and coming back for it later, found to my disgust, that Cleveland, one of the owners of the pack-train, had been letting his friends help themselves so freely to the contents that very few fish remained for me. I suppose he reasoned that, as his horses brought them in, he had a right to them.

In the latter part of 'sixty-two, John Daggett came down from the Black Bear Mine near Sawyer's Bar in Siskiyou County. He was superintendent of the mine and he wanted to get a man to go up there as amalgamator. As I was recommended to him, he engaged me at five dollars per day. The mine was situated in an out of the way corner of Siskiyou County and was well-nigh inaccessible in winter.

The trip from Grass Valley, a distance of about four hundred miles, was made by stage-coach to Etna Mills, and from there on horseback to Sawyer's Bar and Black Bear. When we reached Etna Mills it was night. I was dazed and confused from weariness and want of sleep. As I stumbled along toward the hotel I saw some large objects looming dark in the starlight against the skyline. To my tired brain they gave the impression of barns. When I expressed my surprise to a companion at the enormous size of the barns in that region he laughed at my ludicrous mistake. They were the Siskiyou mountains.

The company working the mine was a small local one with not much capital at their command. There was a good deal of dissension among them, and after I had been there a few months a faction opposed to Daggett got control and deposed him, putting their own man in as superintendent. This new man immediately began by cutting down my pay, and at length concluded that he could do the amalgamating himself. So I was discharged in the dead of winter.

As I had been engaged for a certain time and under stated terms, I could have invoked the law and insisted on the fulfillment of the agreement. I did not care to contest the matter, however, and so concluded I would return home, even though the snow was so deep it was very difficult to get out of there at that season.

I packed up my valise, however, and started out in company with the mail carrier, a Swede, who made the trip from Sawyer's Bar to Etna Mills on snow-shoes. I was not used to snow-shoes, so wore only the heavy, high rubber boots I had worn about my work in the mill. These were so clumsy and cumbersome that I soon grew very weary floundering about in the deep snow. I finally discarded them and put on a pair of thin leather boots I had with me and an old pair of snow-shoes made of barrel staves and a sort of network of cord which someone had left in the crotch of a pine tree by the side of the trail.

The rubber boots I left behind, telling my companion he might have them on his return trip. I also offered him five dollars to carry my valise for me, as I found it all I could do to look after myself and keep my feet on the snow-shoes. Due to my utter inexperience with the latter, I made very slow progress, and at length the mail carrier told me he was obliged to leave me and hurry on before me in order to get the mail in on time.

As it was a clear, starlit night, he said there was no danger of missing the

trail if I followed along in his tracks. He also told me that two or three miles before I reached Etna Mills, there was a little cabin occupied by an old Irishman and his wife who would take me in for the night if I was too tired to go farther. And he offered to stop in on his way to tell them I was coming.

After these arrangements he left me and hastened on. I followed behind as best I could. At last I reached the Irishman's cabin. I was completely used up, and my feet were so badly swollen that we were forced to cut my boots off. My toes were badly frost-bitten and had turned black. As soon as the woman saw that, she ordered me to keep away from the fire. She fetched a pail of snow and made me sit with my feet in that until the frost had thawed out and the blood began to circulate again. If I had taken the precaution of wrapping my feet in gunny sacks before starting from the mine, I would have had no trouble.

However, I was not much frozen, and after two or three days was able to go on to Etna Mills wearing slippers made by cutting the tops off my boots and using the lower portion. From here I returned home by stage to Grass Valley.

During my life here in the early days I had many opportunities of observing the habits and characteristics of the aborigines, then so much more numerous than now. I well remember the first Indian I saw in this country, not very long after my arrival in the interior. He was climbing a hillside airily attired in a white vest. This was his sole garment. It had evidently been given to him by some miner, and a comical sight he was.

Once while living in Smoky Valley over in Nevada, my partners and I collected all the cast-off clothing in our cabin — shirts, trousers, and so on — and put them one over another onto a buck who had appeared on the scene. As a finishing touch, we wound a piece of rope around over all and sent the human bale of merchandise away as pleased as Punch.

The extraordinary endurance and hardihood of the Indian was always a source of marvel to me. The bucks around Austin [Nevada] were splendid specimens of physical development. They exhibited an unusual girth of chest due to the influence of the high altitude. Their arms, however, were disproportionately slender in respect to their other measurements. This was due to the fact that they did no manual work.

While living in Grass Valley it was my custom almost every autumn to go down to the plains in the vicinity of Marysville on a hunting trip. One night an Indian clad only in a breech-clout came into the camp and, stretching himself out beside the fire, without any covering, slept soundly all night unmindful of the heavy frost, while I, in spite of the clothing and blankets, suffered severely from the cold.

When I was up at the Black Bear Mine in Siskiyou, we had a huge buck in our employ who, by reason of his bushy mane of hair, went by the name of Bull Head. He was an evil-looking customer, but a splendid packer and guide.

During our negotiations for the sale of the property, he appeared at the mine one evening in the middle of winter bearing a dispatch for me from Nesmith in San Francisco, which he had just brought in from Etna Mills. As

it was a message of importance requiring immediate answer, I told him to wait. He lay down behind the stove and slept for half an hour or so while I prepared a reply. I then woke him and, having impressed upon him the necessity of making connections with the stage leaving Etna Mills next morning, he started on the return trip of twenty-seven miles over the mountains in the deep snow, making the whole distance of fifty-four miles with only a half-hour's rest.

Life in Austin, Nevada, in 'Sixty-Three, -Four, and -Five

In 'sixty-three the excitement over the silver mines in the vicinity of Austin, Nevada, or Reese River, as it was then called, first broke out. Bill Muncey was telegraph operator at a station near there, and a man named Morgan was one of the express riders. These two located claims, afterwards known as the Morgan and Muncey. The latter had also taken up another claim alongside for his brother Jack. Then he came over to Grass Valley to get him.

As I was not doing anything at that time, I told Jack Muncey I would like to go along, too. So we went over together by the overland stage route. In the winter of 'sixty-three and -four, I bought into the Morgan and Muncey extension. I paid one thousand dollars for a half interest and located one hundred feet at the other end.

That same winter, I believe, my friend Tom Cracklin came over and took up claims in Bunker Hill Canyon down below Austin in Smoky Valley. He named his mine the Victorine, for his wife. He located me in the extension of the ledge, and I went down there and lived in a cabin in the canyon with several other men from Grass Valley.

Some four or five miles below the mouth of the canyon, in Smoky Valley, was a boiling spring which formed a marsh, known as the Salt Marshes, from the large deposits of salt which whitened the ground for some distance around. It was from these same deposits that the salt was obtained which camel-trains[20] used to bring into Austin to be used in the treatment of silver ore. I have often seen trains of half a dozen camels coming into Austin with their loads. They had been imported from Arabia and proved quite useful there on the Nevada desert. When their services were no longer needed, they were turned loose to forage for themselves. A good many years later they were still living and possibly their descendants may be there to this day.

Early one morning I started down to these Salt Marshes to hunt ducks, which were quite plentiful there. I had my lunch with me and intended making

[20] There were two sets of camels imported into California, the first the so-called Beale camels imported by the War Department under Secretary Jefferson Davis, which reached California in the fall of 1857. These camels were subsequently declared unfit for use by the Government and were sold at auction. Probably some of them were brought to Nevada and may have been the ones referred to here. These camels came from the Mediterranean countries and most of them were dromedaries, although there appear to have been one or two so-called "camel-mules" — crosses between dromedaries and two-humped camels. Second, there were the Bactrian camels, imported direct from Siberia to San Francisco. Some of these camels were taken to the Nevada mines across the Carson pass in 1860. The subsequent history of this group is not definitely known, for there seems to be some confusion between them and the Beale camels.

a day of it. Shortly after noon I saw two men emerging from the canyon, who on coming closer proved to be two of my partners at the cabin, John Greenbank and a Cornishman named Bill Luke. They had come down to try their luck with the ducks.

Almost as soon as they arrived we noticed a very threatening and intensely black cloud coming up from the lower part of the valley, and knowing that something was about to happen, we decided to make for shelter as fast as we could. The wind had risen, and as I turned homeward and faced directly toward the canyon where our cabin lay, I noticed that it struck me on the right cheek.

Just then the squall came down on us, a regular blizzard of blinding snow driven by a fierce gale and completely blotting out the canyon. We struggled on through the storm, unable to see any distance ahead to get our bearings. I felt sure of reaching the mouth of the canyon if I kept the wind on my right cheek. At length we came to a road, which my companions insisted was the one that led to the cabin. I, however, declared it was not, that it led off in another direction. I remembered having passed it coming down that morning and that our road lay straight ahead farther on. They were unconvinced by argument, and took the branch road, while I stuck to my course. Before starting on my return in the teeth of the gale I was pretty weary from my forenoon hunt in the marsh, and besides, my progress was further impeded by the high gum-boots I was wearing.

After a desperate fight I finally reached a trading post at the foot of the canyon. More dead than alive, I staggered in, completely exhausted and unable to speak, my beard full of ice and snow. I had carried my gun across my shoulders, holding it with both hands, which were so benumbed, for I wore no gloves, that I could not unclasp them from around the gun barrel. The men at the store had to loosen my grip for me. It was the closest call I ever had in my life.

My two hunting companions, Greenbank and Luke, having been quite fresh at the start and not hampered with as heavy clothing, although they took the wrong road, had no difficulty in reaching home, as the squall soon after ceased.

The storm of which this had been a forerunner, continued for some days, and our roof, which was made of dirt, finally began to leak like a sieve. We were forced to roll up our blankets and place them in the center of the room, while we ourselves sat in a row under the ridge pole, the only dry spot in the cabin. To add to our misery, our tobacco gave out and we took to smoking tea as a substitute. This so worked on our nervous systems that we were unable to sleep and were pretty nearly crazy. At last the storm abated and we were able to make our way back to Austin.

The conditions of life there at that time were not unlike the conditions prevailing in Tonopah and Goldfield at the present day [1904]. Sickness, principally pneumonia and mountain fever, was very prevalent and the mortality was high. The unsanitary conditions of life and the careless habits of the miners were responsible for this.

Lumber was scarce and expensive and many men instead of building a fairly good cabin would burrow into the side-hill and live in these caves or dugouts. As these dens were of necessity dark, damp, and ill-ventilated, sickness in the form of regular epidemics of pneumonia was the inevitable result, and men died like flies.

I built for myself a very comfortable cabin which cost me several hundred dollars. We were more fortunate than the citizens of the recently discovered camps in Nevada, in that we had plenty of wood and water. Wells were dug. I did not have one on my premises, but obtained my supply from a neighbor's well.

Good pine wood was also abundant, although it was pretty high priced — one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents per donkey load.

During my residence there I made the acquaintance of a good many people, some of whom afterwards rose to prominence in California. Among them was John Garber, then a young man in partnership with two friends in a law office. He is now one of the foremost lawyers in San Francisco.[21] I also traded a little with a young man named Holbrook, who had a small hardware store and who was later senior partner in the big wholesale hardware house of Holbrook, Merrill, and Stetson, in San Francisco.

Near my cabin lived Shelden Davis, a millwright, and his wife, with whom I formed an acquaintance which ripened into a lifelong friendship. At one time I was ill with an attack of mountain fever. I will never forget Mrs. Davis' kindness and the delicious custards she brought me.

At a later period the Davises were living on a ranch in Big Creek Canyon, when rumors of Indian trouble were in circulation. Knowing that Mr. Davis was absent and that his wife and two little boys were there alone, I felt alarmed for their safety. I obtained a horse and rode down there to try to persuade her to leave and come up to Austin, where she would be out of danger of attack from the Indians, of whom there were a good many in her neighborhood. Although I spent the greater part of the day in trying to persuade her to abandon the lonely ranch, she was obstinate and refused to listen to reason, as I thought. So I was reluctantly forced to return to Austin alone. I admired her pluck, although I was vexed at what seemed a foolhardy exhibition of it. Fortunately the rumor of an uprising proved to be without foundation.

Austin was like all other new camps, infested with a good many quarrelsome, disorderly characters. I remember one man in particular. He was a mild-mannered, pleasant-appearing Southerner, who was said to be a terror in his use of the bowie-knife. It was reported that he had killed four or five men by throwing his knife several feet, striking his victim with deadly effect.

Once a man went suddenly insane, and seizing an axe ran amuck down the steep grade leading out of Austin, striking at everyone he met. If a person managed to evade him he did not attempt pursuit, but kept on in his devastating

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[21] Oscar T. Shuck, in his *Bench and Bar of California*, 1901, gives to John Garber first rank among the lawyers of California.

course. When the madman reached the foot of the grade, someone shot him down, but not before several people had fallen victims to his murderous attack.

While I was living in Austin the telegraph line was completed between the East and the West. Gamble and Coleman had the contract for the division around Austin. The latter afterwards gave up his position with the company and went to live in a cabin with Lew Sowers, a friend of mine. This cabin stood close to the telegraph office, being separated by only a thin partition. Coleman, who was an expert operator, often used to sit against the dividing wall, and by leaning his head against it could hear everything that passed over the wires. In this way we learned all the news of the battles of the Civil War, then in progress, before the inhabitants of San Francisco did, and several days before we received the city newspaper accounts.

At one time I ran out of funds, and while waiting for a remittance to arrive from Grass Valley, lived on one meal a day for about two weeks.

In the latter part of 'sixty-four there was great excitement over the rich strikes in some of the mines, the rock in some instances running four hundred or five hundred dollars per ton, as was the case in the Morgan and Muncey.

To Boston and Return

I wrote to my brother Henry[22] in Boston, describing the conditions. He replied that several men whom he had talked to expressed an interest in the matter, but as he had no knowledge of mines, and letter-writing was very unsatisfactory, they thought I had better come on and they would pay all my expenses. Just about this time, I received word from Grass Valley that Mr. Robinson, who had been ill for a long time, was dead, so I hastened back there. I married his daughter Abbie, to whom I had long been engaged, and immediately after, in January, 'sixty-five, took my departure for the East by way of the Isthmus of Panama. My wife remained behind in Grass Valley with her mother.

I took passage on the *Constitution,* whose master, Captain Watkins, was one of the finest and best known commanders of that day. As soon as we started, he had opportunity to exhibit his marvelous skill in handling his vessel. There had been a terrific storm and the bar was rougher than had ever been known in the history of the bay; in fact, the sea was breaking clear across it. Just as we reached the Golden Gate, we came upon two sailing vessels that had been in collision, and one in particular was in great distress. Her bows had been stove in and there was a hole in her side. It was almost large enough to drive a horse and buggy through, so it seemed to us watching her. She had a number of passengers, both men and women, on board, so our captain determined to make an attempt at rescue.

He made a long detour to get into a position from which to throw a hawser to her, so as to be able to take her in tow. No sooner had the hawser been attached than it parted. The steamer was again obliged to describe almost a complete circle to get in position to make another attempt. We were not far off the Cliff House, from which point, a number of spectators, among them my brother Charles and his wife, were watching our maneuvers with interest.

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[22] Henry D. Morse, who introduced the art of diamond cutting into America.

Meanwhile we had signalled for a tug to come out to assist us, and one now approached. Just as she reached the entrance to the harbor, a tremendous sea struck her and she went completely under. We thought she was gone, but she presently emerged, and turning, scudded back to the shelter of the bay. Every time we got near enough to throw a rope to the vessel, we ourselves would be right on the bar, exposed to the full fury of the sea, and our keel would grate and scrape on the bottom.

Our captain said afterwards that the *Constitution* was the only ship in the harbor that was able to stand the strain of the work he attempted that day.

There were quite a number of prominent Californians on the passenger list, going "home" for a visit, among them Governor Nye. There was also W. M. Stewart and family on board. Stewart went to the captain to remonstrate with him on what he considered his uncalled-for actions in imperiling the safety of his passengers in a foolhardy attempt at rescuing the crew and passengers of a little sailing vessel. Captain Watkins, who was a tall, fine looking man with rather fierce aquiline features which made him look not unlike a sea-eagle, fixed his sharp, piercing gaze on the complainant and replied in a short, sharp speech. It was probably punctuated with appropriate expletives, too. He told Stewart that there were men on that vessel that he intended to stay by, but that if they had been like him, the complainant, he would not have stayed by fifteen minutes. Stewart wilted.

The second attempt at rescue also failed, and when our third and last hawser parted and the poor wretches on the wreck realized it and saw us prepare to abandon them and proceed on our way, a wail of despair went up that was terrible to hear and fairly haunted me. When I reached Boston I wrote back to learn their subsequent fate, and was relieved to hear that as soon as the storm abated they were taken off in safety.

I remained in Boston about three months, combining business and pleasure. As it was my first visit to my old home since I left it for California fourteen years before, I had a most enjoyable sojourn, although some sad changes had occurred in that time, especially the death of my mother four years previous.

A company was formed to work my properties in Austin, and everything having been satisfactorily adjusted, I started home in March, 'sixty-five.

The trip from Boston to San Francisco only consumed about thirty days and was very agreeable, that is, so far as the sea voyage was concerned, as at that time there was a splendid line of steamers plying on the Panama route. The overland route across the Isthmus itself was not very pleasant, as the jungle grew so thickly on each side of the railroad track that there was not much to be seen but an impenetrable wilderness of tropical trees and vines. There were occasional clearings containing a few native huts with little patches of cultivation.

Moreover, the weather on my return trip was exceedingly hot. I remember that in the City of Panama the night was so uncomfortable that I did not attempt to go to bed, but wandered outside the city limits to an old fort, where I sat till late, alone, smoking. A most foolhardy proceeding, for an enterprising

native might have crept up behind and stabbed me in the back and robbed me of my valuables, while all the time I was exposing myself to the even more treacherous Panama fever.

Soon after we left the Isthmus on this side, a stowaway was discovered on board and was put down in the hold, stoking the furnace to work his passage. The weather was very warm, and it must have been terrific working down around the furnace. The heat probably drove the poor fellow insane, for he sprang through a port-hole into the ocean. Immediately the alarm, "a man overboard," was sounded; the steamer was stopped and a boat put out toward the spot where we could see the man swimming in the water. Just before the boat reached him we saw him throw his arms up over his head, and the next instant his body shot up out of the water, then disappeared. The boat immediately turned back to the steamer, and one of the officers standing near remarked to us, "No use going on, a shark took him."

When we arrived outside the Golden Gate a pilot boat met us with the horrifying news of the assassination of President Lincoln. The news had that day, April 16, 1865, reached San Francisco by the Pony Express Overland. At once great grief and indignation reigned on board. There was among the passengers a New York man, a rabid copper-head and "secesh" advocate. He had made himself very obnoxious all through the voyage with constant discussion and airing of his views on the war. Some of the passengers, longing for something on which to vent their rage after hearing the direful news, began looking for this man. He, however, made himself very scarce and succeeded in evading them and got safely ashore. A lucky thing for him, for if he had been caught I think they might have attempted to string him up to the yard-arm, or at any rate would have thrown him overboard.

When we landed, we found the city in an uproar. My wife had come down from Grass Valley to meet me, and we stayed at the Occidental Hotel, where we sat at our windows watching the excited crowds passing and repassing on Montgomery Street. The temper of the populace was such that the city was finally placed under martial law, and all Southerners, of whom there were a great many, were warned not to venture on the streets, as the authorities did not wish to be responsible for their safety. The mob wrecked the printing office of a Southern journal, smashing the press and throwing the types out into the street.[23]

Once I left my rooms and went down into the street. The press of agitated people was so great that one could hardly make one's way through. While walking on Market Street I encountered three Frenchmen, who had evidently been imbibing a little too freely, coming along arm in arm singing the Marseillaise at the top of their lungs, while the tears rolled down their cheeks. Such a demonstration of popular feeling was never witnessed in San Francisco before or since.

I still have in my possession the issue of the *Alta California* published in

[23] No less than five newspaper offices were destroyed in San Francisco by the mob.

San Francisco on April 17, 1865, with its heavily leaded columns containing the sad details of the tragedy. The arrival of the steamer *Golden State* is also noted, and in the passenger list occurs my name and also that of J. M. Lakeman of Grass Valley and Edwin Sawyer of Vallejo. My brother Charlie and his wife had come down from Mare Island to meet the latter, and after a few days spent with them in San Francisco, my wife and I went up to Grass Valley and soon took our departure from there for Austin, Nevada.

Our sojourn in Austin proved to be short and disappointing. We found on our arrival that the bubble had burst and the excitement was at an end, as the mines had proved to be quite unprofitable.

So I did not even attempt the work of development that I had planned, but returned home to Grass Valley instead. I left the nice cabin I had built in charge of an acquaintance, telling him to sell it for me. I never heard from him, but afterwards learned that he disposed of it and pocketed the money.

Soon after my return to Grass Valley I began to develop the property known as the Laramie and Higgins, and in the work of sinking a shaft used the then new explosive known as giant powder. Up to that time the ordinary black powder had been employed in blasting, and the miners did not take kindly to the innovation. After the first trial, a deputation of men waited upon me with a list of complaints. The new explosive was exceedingly dangerous, its fumes were very powerful, causing headaches, and so on.

I replied that I intended to continue its use nevertheless. The following day I went down to the mine and found the men in a state of mutiny, all, with the exception of my two Irish bosses. They refused to work with the new powder. I remained firm, however, and stated that the sinking must proceed by the use of giant powder or I would close down the mine. Seeing me so determined, the men gave in and the work went on with no further trouble, the new blasting powder proving highly satisfactory. In view of the now universal employment of giant powder in all mines, the strong opposition to it at the time of its introduction seems very odd.

The Purchase of the Black Bear Mine

After my return to Grass Valley from Austin in 'sixty-five, I worked the Essex mine on the property adjoining my house on Mill Street. I sank a shaft on the incline, running way up under Mill Street as far as Campbell's blacksmith shop. I found nothing, however, but a fine spring of water.

When I was working at the Black Bear mine in Siskiyou County, as amalgamator, I had a good chance to judge of the nature of the mine and became convinced that it was a fine property. I also felt pretty certain that the company would not last long. So while I was in Austin I wrote to my friend Mr. Daggett and advised him to get control of the mine, if the old company should go to pieces.

I later received word from him that the old company had disbanded and that he and some Irishmen were then working the property. After I had

abandoned work on the Essex, I conceived the idea of getting a bond on the Black Bear and attempting to make a sale to some large company.

I went over to see a friend of mine, Mr. Nesmith, who was living over on Auburn Street, and at the time was confined to the house with a broken leg. To him I unfolded my plan and offered to take him in on half interest. I went up to the Black Bear to interview Daggett in regard to the bond. At that time the mine was paying twenty thousand dollars a month with a sixteen-stamp mill. I got a bond from the company for two hundred thousand dollars selling price on six months' time.

Nesmith and I then went down to San Francisco in the winter of 'seventy and began to negotiate for the selling of the mine. At that time the market for mining properties was very brisk, owing to the excitement over the Comstock Lode, in the State of Nevada. The attention of the business world was turned to the wealth to be acquired from mining.

We bonded the mine to Cross and Company for three hundred thousand dollars on sixty days' time.

They sent an expert, Mr. Janin, up to examine the mine and I accompanied him. He made a thorough investigation and reported favorably to the company, stating that as far as development went, the prospects were fine, but he could not judge the extent of the body of ore. We had not yet struck the ledge in the lower tunnel.

I remained at the mine, and I felt rather dubious as to our ability to sell the property if we did not succeed in finding the ledge in the new development. I went down into the new tunnel to inspect it in company with Daggett. I asked him just where the survey indicated that the ledge should come in. He pointed out the exact spot to me. As we stood there talking I amused myself idly picking a hole in the side of the tunnel with the sharp end of a miner's candle-stick. Suddenly I uncovered a bit of pure white quartz, and exclaimed to my companion, "There's your ledge now." I then said they must give me more time on the bond, and so in view of the necessary development work they allowed me a three months' extension.

We at once put all our men to work opening up the new ground, and uncovered a fine four-foot ledge of very rich rock. I immediately wrote the news down to San Francisco and soon Mr. [John W.] Gashwiler, a very prominent mining man of San Francisco, accompanied by another expert, Mr. [William] Ashburner, came up to inspect the new development. It was the dead of winter and the deep snow made the trip hard for those accustomed to it. It was doubly fatiguing to men not in the habit of taking such excursions, and they arrived at the mine completely exhausted and so stiff that they required assistance in dismounting from their horses. They, and especially Ashburner, were loud in their denunciation of the individuals that got any man into such an inaccessible place to look at a mine in the depth of winter. When they realized the true nature of the property they changed their views.

Gashwiler had brought with him a paper which Nesmith had given him unknown to me, granting Cross and Company an extension of thirty days on

the bond, as the time was running out. This he wanted me to sign, but I flatly refused to do so; first, because Nesmith had no right to do it without my consent, and second, because I knew that with the ledge we now had, the mine was worth a good deal more than the price we originally asked for it.

When Gashwiler had seen the mine, he was much excited over it and admitted I was justified in refusing them more time on the old bond.

We all went back together, going out on horseback over the snow with Indian guides, taking with us twenty thousand dollars' worth of gold and specimens.

When we reached San Francisco I put up at the Lick, and soon Nesmith appeared in a state of great excitement and attempted to argue me into renewing the bond. He thought one hundred thousand dollars, to be divided between us, was making big money and was afraid we would lose the opportunity if we did not grant them more time.

I replied that he had not seen the mine and I had, and I knew it was worth more than the present price we were asking for it, and especially as Cross and Company demanded forty thousand dollars commission for selling it. They still had ten days or so before the expiration of the bond, and if they did not take it we could find someone who would.

The following day, Gashwiler came up to my rooms and held a conference with Nesmith and myself. He tried to get me to renew the lease, and Nesmith was willing enough, but I told him he knew what we had there and remained obstinate. Then he represented to me the trouble that Cross and Company, and especially their representative, William Letts Oliver, had been to in regard to the transaction, and that perhaps they might be willing to pay a little more if we would let them have it.

After he finished I said that was all very well for them and that he was talking in their interest, but I did not agree. Then I made my proposition, which was that they take the mine for four hundred and fifty thousand dollars and we would pay Cross and Company's commission of forty thousand dollars; pay him, Gashwiler, twenty-five thousand dollars, and Oliver six thousand dollars. Gashwiler gave instant and eager approval, and soon after we received our price. Nesmith and I received seventy-five thousand apiece and Daggett and the other owners the remainder after the commissions were paid. We took part payment in stock, and I held twenty-two thousand shares.

Gashwiler, who was a very wealthy man, put in two hundred and twenty-five thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the sale price and told me afterwards that he wished I had come directly to him in the first place and he would have bought it all.

Nesmith and I presented Mr. Daggett with a very handsome silver dinner service, containing many large, massive pieces, paying sixteen hundred dollars for it.

The mine paid splendid dividends for several years, my own on one-fifteenth interest averaging eight hundred dollars to twelve hundred dollars per month. The inaccessibility of the mine made mismanagement by extravagant and dis-

honest superintendents easy. Besides, the great fever over mining at that time induced them to attempt to make record-breaking dividends. Twice in succession I received two thousand dollar dividends on my shares.

In order to do this, the mine was "gouged" instead of being properly developed and conservatively worked. No mine could stand this sort of treatment long, and after having paid dividends for ten years or so its condition was such that it was abandoned. Nothing but a great deal of expensive development could ever have brought it out and the company was unwilling to put up the money.

This sale of the Black Bear was the greatest achievement in my mining career.

At Daggett's suggestion, I invested seventy-five hundred dollars in the Klamath Mine, also in Siskiyou. I never made anything out of it, though; in fact, I lost all I put into it.

Earthquakes

I happened to be in San Francisco on two occasions when the city was shaken by two of the most violent earthquakes of its history. The first time [October 8, 1865] I was staying at a hotel there with my wife, when a temblor awakened every one from a sound sleep. The greatest consternation reigned and the spectacle presented by the inmates of the hotel as they rushed wildly out into the corridors in most unconventional costumes was ludicrous enough. I remember one woman ran down the hall holding her baby by one leg.

At the time of the "great earthquake," as it is known in San Francisco history, and which occurred in the forenoon [October 21, 1868], I was standing in a doorway on Montgomery Street and at first I did not realize what was happening until I saw the people running out into the street. My friend Captain Lee, who was on crutches and just recovering from an accident, was standing near me; and he became so frightened that he dropped his crutches and sprang over a pile of bricks. The sight of this sudden cure made me roar with laughter, for I did not feel alarmed in the least.

"What's the matter, Lee?" I said.

My coolness and ridicule was too much for his temper, and he retorted indignantly that if I was not scared I ought to be. That anyone was a d——d fool not to be scared at an earthquake like that.

Adventure of M. André Chavanne

My friend M. Chavanne, for whom I worked for some time in Grass Valley, had a very unusual experience and narrow escape from the perils of the sea. He was so unfortunate as to be a passenger on a steamer which took fire on the way up from Panama to San Francisco and burned to the water's edge.

He had put on a life-preserver and clung to the side of the vessel until the heat forced him to let go his hold and drop into the sea. Once in the water, he seized hold of some planks from the wreckage, and floated on them three days

and nights with no food and not even a drop of water to allay the dreadful thirst that the burning tropical sun must have engendered.

The disaster occurred off the coast of Mexico, and when either the smoke and flames from the burning steamer or the wreckage that washed ashore gave warning of the loss of a ship, many of the inhabitants of the coast towns put out in their boats to search for survivors.

Among the rescuing parties was one of several sailors headed by a Mexican. They had been out some time and had gone some distance without encountering anything. The sailors wearied of the fruitless search and began to grumble and to urge their captain to abandon further efforts and turn back. He, however, was very anxious to keep on a while longer, and carried his point after much argument.

They had not proceeded very much farther out to sea before they perceived something floating on the water. At a nearer view it proved to be a man floating on the wreckage. This wretched survivor, who was M. Chavanne, was so exhausted he was barely able to lift a hand.

The men drew him into the boat and brought him ashore, and after he had sufficiently recovered to travel, he went on to his destination, California. He did not, however, forget his rescuer, the Mexican to whose perseverance in continuing the search in the face of opposition he owed his life. Chavanne, as a testimonial of his gratitude, bought a small vessel and presented it to him, so he was enabled to sail out of San Francisco as master of a ship. This captain made two or three visits to Chavanne at Grass Valley. Chavanne was very popular and all his friends united in wining and dining his rescuer to show their appreciation.

Quite as singular was the adventure of my friend Mr. Greenbank, whose narrative follows:

The Wreck of the Steamer Independence, February 15, 1853
Narrative of John Greenbank

The experience which follows happened to me while a passenger on the steamer *Independence* on its trip from Panama to San Francisco in the month of February, 1853.

The passenger list was a large one and there was also a heavy cargo on board. The voyage at first promised to be uneventful, and all went well till we were in the neighborhood of the group of islands lying off the coast of Lower California, known as the Santa Margaritas.

At this point smoke was seen issuing from the hold, and an investigation revealed the startling fact that the cargo was on fire. All efforts of the crew at fire fighting proved unavailing, and as the flames spread rapidly it soon became evident that the ship must be left to her fate and all efforts directed to saving the passengers.

All hands were ordered on deck and the boats were manned. The wildest excitement prevailed among the passengers. Men flung away their money-belts

and emptied their pockets of all heavy coin so that they would swim light, and threw themselves overboard, the boats being reserved for the women and children.

The sight of the decks strewn with gold was too much for the greed and avarice of the stewardess, who, while awaiting her turn to enter a boat, occupied the time in filling her pockets and every available portion of her clothing with coins that she gathered from the deck. In jumping for the boat, she missed it and fell into the water. The weight of the coin she had collected dragged her down and she sank like a stone, never to rise again, a victim to her own avarice.

Being strong and a good swimmer, I was one of the first to spring overboard, and circled the ship to see if I could aid the work of rescue in any way. Among the passengers was a Mrs. Ayers and her little six-year-old girl, who were on their way to San Francisco. I saw her standing near the rail holding the child. I called to her to throw the little girl to me and then leap over herself and I would save them. She threw me the child, whom I caught, but when she sprang the steel frame of her skirt caught in some projection on the side of the ship and, unable to free herself, she hung there and burned to death before my eyes, I being powerless to aid her.

As the mother was beyond all human help I now set about saving the child and myself. I dived and came up in the midst of a shoal of seals which were splashing and blowing about me, making a great commotion. I at once struck out for the small island not far away, where the boats containing the passengers had been beached.

This island was barren and uninhabited, and we huddled together without shelter, a forlorn group. Our only food was obtained from the carcasses of some cattle which floated ashore with the wreckage. And we were at length reduced to chewing portions of the hides to stay the pangs of hunger.

A few days after our landing one of the women survivors gave birth to a girl baby. The island on which we were stranded was known as Santa Margarita, and the child was given the name Margarita, in token of her birthplace.

At length we chartered a whaling ship which had been fishing for whale in the Santa Margarita Bay. The captain agreed to take us to San Francisco for the sum of thirty thousand dollars. We were six weeks in making the nine hundred miles to our destination, which we were thankful enough to see after enduring so many privations.

I had taken charge of the little girl I had saved all through our trials, and now delivered her over to her father, who had come down to the steamer expecting to meet both wife and child. Although naturally overwhelmed with grief at the terrible fate of his wife, he was filled with gratitude to me for having saved his child for him. In token of his grateful recognition of the service I had rendered him, he presented me with a handsome gold watch suitably inscribed. This I took with me to Grass Valley, where it was destroyed in the great fire that swept the heart of the town in 1856. The watch was in my trunk at my lodgings, and as I was away at work when the fire broke out, it was consumed, together with all my other effects. It was an accident which I

deeply deplored, as I would not have parted from it, if I could have avoided it, under any circumstances, for I valued it too highly.

In an issue of the San Francisco *Call* during the year 1897, a notice was printed requesting any survivor of the wreck of the steamer *Independence* in 1853 to write to a certain address in the East, giving any details that they could recollect. I accordingly complied with the request, giving particulars, but I never received any reply.

The old order of life in California was destined to undergo a change. The tap of the silver hammer upon the gold spike, which announced the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 was also the death blow of the unconventional freedom of the old pioneer. For the modern facilities of travel then inaugurated bore fruit in the influx of people with the customs and manners of older civilizations. Thenceforth California was to become less of a peculiar country and land of romance whose inhabitants were a law unto themselves, and more of an integral, though always unique, part of the vast American nation.

JOURNAL

OF

JOHN WOOD,

AS KEPT BY HIM WHILE TRAVELING FROM CINCINNATI TO THE GOLD DIGGINGS IN

CALIFORNIA,

IN THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1850,

CONTAINING AN ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF THE OCCURRANCES, TRANSACTIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES DAILY.

Also, an Account of each Tribe of Indians, Description of the Country passed through each day, Quality of Soil, &c., &c.,

TOGETHER WITH A TABLE OF DISTANCES

FROM MISSOURI TO OREGON, EMIGRANT'S ROUTE, &c., &c.

CHILLICOTHE:

PRESS OF ADDISON BOOKWALTER.

1852.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOD

About ten or twelve years ago at an auction sale in New York, I bought, at what for that time was a high price, the *Journal of John Wood, as kept by him while traveling from Cincinnati to the gold diggings in California in the spring and summer of 1850*. This little book of 112 pages bore the Columbus, Ohio, imprint of 1871. It was not in very good condition, but I have never heard of another copy. Although it occurred to me that it might possibly have been printed before, there was nothing about the book to so indicate, and I concluded that the printer had printed it from an old manuscript journal. This, however, was a mistake, as the original edition of the book has now turned up, or at least what is presumably such, the title being the same except for the imprint, as will be seen by the accompanying reproduction. This little book is even smaller than the other, containing only 76 pages. The wrappers are very much deteriorated; the front one simply contains the same title, and the back one a table of distances to Oregon. The book has an added interest in that on the fly-leaf is what is evidently the signature of John Wood himself, and that of his sister, Rachel Wood, from whose daughter I recently obtained the book.

John Wood was born near Greenfield, Ohio, February 4, 1825, the son of William Wood, a Virginian, and Mary Ann Wilson, who had been born in Pennsylvania. He was raised on the farm where he was born, and lived there until he went to California. He had the ordinary country education of the day, but afterwards studied law and was a successful teacher. After he returned from California, he went into the milling business and operated a large mill, amassing a small fortune. He married Eliza Jane Slagle, by whom he had five children, Charles, William, Elizabeth, Alice, and Annie, of whom only the last, now Mrs. Annie Slavens, survives. He departed from this life September 1, 1896, near his old home at Greenfield, Ohio, and is buried there.

The party left Fayette County, Ohio, in March and rendezvoused in Cincinnati, from where they left April 5 on the steamer *James Millinger* for St. Joseph, Mo., which they reached April 17. Here they were delayed a month, making preparations for their trip. Wood says that there were 10,000 emigrants in the place, and several "gambling hells," and that except when he was asleep he heard nothing except quarreling and wrangling; and that as there was such a tremendous demand for oxen many, including themselves, were obliged to buy unbroken steers. In a few days they went to a place called Brown's Mills, where they spent some time breaking in their oxen. From May 16 to the 18th was spent in crossing the Missouri, and the following day they set out. As finally organized, there were seventy-two men and seventeen teams, and the party was known as Robinson and Ogle's Company and D. McLane's Company. Henry Burnett was elected captain and Robert Steuart lieutenant. Beginning with May 19 there is an entry for every day until September 16, when they reached Ringgold, which Wood describes as "a sunny little village containing about 600 inhabitants; all apparently happy and prosperous." The party proceeded by

the usual route across the South Pass and then took the Fort Bridger road to Salt Lake.

The emigration of 1850 will probably go down as the most disastrous in the history of the gold rush. It is said that fully 80,000 people crossed the plains that year. This in itself was quite sufficient to account for many of the hardships suffered, as the teams in advance ate up all the grass and ground the road to dust, and the travelers managed to get into trouble with the Indians. To all this was added the horror of the cholera which raged on the plains that summer. Before Wood reached the Rocky Mountains ten per cent of his party had died of this disease. No narrative which I have read gives a more vivid account than this of the difficulties and sufferings of the emigrants. Wood's party kept disintegrating slowly until, when he reached the Carson River, there was a time when he had but two companions.

One of the most interesting things in the journal is the record of the prices paid for food at different places. At Fort Bridger milk was 10¢ and whiskey $2.00 a pint; at Salt Lake City flour was $25.00 a hundred pounds, and other things in proportion. He found some very sociable Mormons, however, who gave him a very good dinner for 50¢. They remained in the valley two days and then continued on by what was known as the Hastings Cut-off; and then their chief troubles began.

On August 5 they started across the desert, having been told that it was about a hundred miles wide; it finally proved to be ninety-three miles across, and they made it in just forty-eight hours. Here they began to lose their oxen very fast, and it was not long before Wood and his party were packing their goods on the backs of the oxen. In attempting to make a short cut they got into trouble with the Indians and went a long distance out of their way, finally striking the Fort Hall Road on the Humboldt. Here they found a man who was hauling some bran to feed his horses. They paid him 20¢ a pound for it and 25¢ for rye. This was on August 20, and on the 21st they were out of other food, and tried to buy some from other emigrants, but without success. Here Wood's party was reduced to twenty-four. On the 22d they finally ate up all their bran, most of the rye, and what little beef they had, which they had obtained by killing a steer. On the 25th on the Lower Humboldt they bought some coffee and some beef for 10¢ a pound. September 2 they started across from the Humboldt Sink to the Truckee River. Here they found a man who had some ham and fruit. The ham he was selling for 65¢ a pound. It was while crossing this desert that Wood saw the greatest desolation and indescribable scenes of starvation and want. While suffering intensely from thirst he found a man who brought out water from the Carson to sell, for which Wood paid $1.00 a gallon for a gallon and a half, which he divided with the steer, but the animal soon lay down and died. At ten o'clock at night of the 3d Wood finally reached the Salmon Trout (now the Truckee) River, where he found some of his old messmates, all well. The man who sold Wood the water told him that it was estimated that at least 3,000 wagons and $3,000,000 worth of

property had been abandoned on that desert that season. Here food was plentiful, as it had been brought out from California; but what prices! Flour, $1.25 per pound, corn meal, $1.00, wheat bread, $1.50, molasses, $4.00 a gallon, and liquor 50¢ a drink. They killed one of their steers and sold it for 20¢ a pound, and sold the other one for $22.50. The money was divided, and then it was every man for himself. As most now had to carry what they had on their backs, many threw away their clothes, but Wood paid a man $5.00 to haul his to Ringgold, except his blankets, which he carried on his back. He made a mess with Steuart and Thomas R. Grub, and they bought some flour, coffee, and molasses, and then set out up the river. They were all now in very good health, except for sore feet. On the 8th Wood and his companions reached the Carson Valley, where he said there were thousands of horses, mules, and cattle, being recruited after their trip across the desert. That afternoon a man named McClellan, seeing that he and Steuart were having trouble in walking on account of their feet, told them he would let them each ride a horse, and would board them if they would help him drive his stock across the mountains. On the 10th they turned up a canyon and got through that day. On the 11th they passed the Devil's Ladder, and made camp that night at Red Lake. On the 12th they crossed the summit and saw mountain after mountain covered with snow and some with tall pine trees. Here they found a trading post every two or three miles, selling flour at 25¢ a pound. On the 13th he saw the first oak timber, and camped at what he called Tragical or Leak Springs, a little below which was Onion Valley. On the early maps Tragical and Leak Springs appear as different places, close together; they are just off the road that comes over Carson Pass, and consequently it seems that Wood must have crossed that way. The next day hundreds of men passed them traveling for dear life, among whom was his old friend Captain John R. Robinson. On the 15th they reached Pleasant Valley, on one of the small branches of the Cosumnes River, and next morning some twelve miles distant found Ringgold, a town which now seems to have disappeared, but must have been on Ringgold Creek a short distance from Diamond Springs.

Here Wood's journal ends, concluding with some philosophical remarks about the "California Expedition." At the end he says, "and now before I close this little book, I beg leave to insert my opinion of the best way to go and come from California. In the first place, I would say never cross the plains while there is a path on the high seas. I returned by sea in thirty-eight days, which I considered a pleasure voyage in comparison with my four months' march across the desert and mountains."

From this it appears that Wood had returned before the narrative was printed.

HENRY R. WAGNER.

DOCUMENTARY

The Frémont Episode

[Larkin to U. S. Commissioner, Sandwich Islands, Regarding Affairs in California]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence I, pp. 92-93. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America,
Confidential. Monterey, California, June the 21st, 1846.
Sir.

From reports that have reached this Town, and from letters I have received this past week from Vice Consul Leidesdorff and Commander Montgomery, U. S. Ship "Portsmouth," I learn that some Foreigners supposed to be chiefly Americans, have taken from Lieut Arce an Officer under the Com[t]. General of California, over one hundred horses and mares, and that on the 14 instant they or other foreigners took possession of the Town of Sonoma on the bay of San Francisco, made prisoners of two Californian Officers & two Citizens, whom they have carried away, also many horses of the place, leaving a portion of their party in possession of that Town. I also understand that these Foreigners have issued a Proclamation, promising good treatment to the prisoners they have taken & to all others in this Country who will only attend to their own private business, at the same time denouncing all who may act against them.

During these transactions, there is on the Sacramento, Captain J. C. Fremont, who had remained in this Country a few months to recruit his men and animals, there is also Mr. Gillespie, who the Californians suppose to be an U. S. Officer, and know that he went 3 or 400 miles into the Country and returned with Captain Fremont, their returning a few days before Sonoma was taken, and the presence of the Cyane and Portsmouth, has led the Natives to believe, that these two Gentlemen and myself are at the head of the insurrection. I know that I have no knowledge of the affairs or the people concerned, and do not believe Mess[rs] Fremont and Gillespie are.

From all the circumstances there are many Californians who intimate that I as United States Consul, should be arrested and carried into the interior, this belief may gain strength and induce the Authorities to take me from my House by force. I have therefore for protection to my Wife and three children concluded, to send them to Honolulu, Oahu, in the American Barque "Angola," Samuel Varney, Master, to remain there for the present. I take the liberty to call your official & personal attention to Mrs. Larkin and children during the time they may remain within your official jurisdiction & your kindest attention to them, drawing on me for any expence that they may cause you.

Whatever may transpire between my Government and the Supreme Government of Mexico, or the Authorities of California, or between the Natives of this Country and my Countrymen, I must and shall within my Consulate act as a

Consul of the United States according as circumstances and my judgement may dictate from time to time, regardless of consequences to myself, putting my family under the charge of yourself and the United States Consul of the Sandwich Islands. I shall attend to whatever business my Government may call me to, and should my property be lost or injured, myself or heirs will look to that Government for recompence of injuries that may be sustained by me or them; Mrs. Larkin has a letter of the same import as this to the United States [Consul] of the Sandwich Islands.

It may be proper to say, that in my opinion Mr. Gillespie like all Travellers in California, went up to New Helvetia having received in Monterey, several letters sent to Captain Fremont and his hired men, from their relatives, he supposed he had to travel at an extra speed, two or three days to overtake the Company, and being fond of seeing the interior he done so, but the party ahead travelled nearly as fast as he did, by the time they were overtaken, Capt[n]. Fremont had found he could not reach the Oregon in time to arrive in the United States by September, so he returned to the Sacramento Valley with Mr. Gillespie, and is now preparing to go home, or is actually gone, I expect Mr. G. here next week.

I am your most obedient servant

Anthony Ten Eyck, Esq[r].
U. S. Commissioner
Sandwich Islands.

(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN.

Joel Twerill Esq[r].
U. S. Consul —
Sandwich Islands.

[Larkin to Leidesdorff Regarding Despatches from the States]

[*Id.* p. 95. Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America,
Monterey, California, June 22nd, 1846.

Confidential.

Sir.

It is possible that an overland "Courier" may have been sent from the United States to me, and I am afraid that such has been the case & that it has miscarried on the road, should you hear of one, you will shew this letter to who ever may have it, as your authority to advise & assist the bearers in reaching me; by no manner of means allow it to come to me by any conveyance that may have a risk of miscarrying on the way. The proper way to send any important despatch to me, will be to have it brought down by Captain Montgomery in the Portsmouth, he was to leave his present anchorage on the 25th ins[t]. for this Port, I wrote to him two days back & requested him to remain where he is.

The receipt of an overland Mail one or two days later is not of as much consequence as its actual reception by me; should the Portsmouth left by her Commander not receiving my letter, you may expect the Cyane to take her place & anchorage immediately; I wish you to write to Mr. Reading & Mr.

Bidwell and any other proper and responsable man, to aid any courier arriving at New Helvetia in reaching me, I should pay them any expences they may be at, in coming to me on business of this kind, you will say to them that I have wrote to Captain Sutter respecting a thing of this kind, on second thoughts he being a Mexican Officer, I think I ought not require him to do it, as he may dislike it, although be willing to oblige me, you will therefore write to them to look out for a Courier & should they hear of one being high up, to go to him at my expence.

It is my wish that you send a boat up on receiving this that Messrs Bidwell & Reading may receive a letter from you, you can also write to Messrs F & G, if they are yet up the river, on this subject & be particularly careful in speaking of the contents of this letter to any one, but the two latter named Gentlemen & the Commander of the Portsmouth to whom you will shew it. I will perhaps with this send you a letter for Messrs Reading & Bidwell which you will forward, direct only to them if they are about New Helvetia, be extremely carefull of sending any more than the news of the day, by land.

I am with respect

William A. Leidesdorff Esqr. — Your most obedient

U. S. Vice Consul, Yerba Buena, San. Francisco. — (Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN.

[Castro to Pio Pico, Detailing Occurrences at Sonoma]

[Castro, Documentos para la Historia de California, 127. Bancroft Library.]
[Blotter Copy]

Comanda. Gral &

E. S.

Con oportunidad tube el honor de communicar á V. E. la agresion atroz q los aventureros del Norte cometieron en el punto de Sonoma, con relacion de todos sus acontecimtos; en consecuencia no vacilé en mover la tropa q pude de pronto y dado este paso, invite al Sor. Prefecto de este Distrito pa. q me auciliase con gente y demas recursos q pudiera facilitarme; la constante actividad y acrisolado patriotismo de este funcionario uniendose con migo, cuanto estubo a su alcance y con estos esfuerzos unidos á grandes sacrificios q hemos hecho se ha logrado destacar otra seccion en aucilio de la 1a. y hoy se cuentan sobre Sonoma como ciento sesenta hombres, q en momento favorable pueden recobrar aquella plaza y escarmentar a sus atrevidos invasores: —

— Yó sigo á la retaguardia reuniendo mas fuerzas pa auciliar a las q hay sobre Sonoma en caso de un descalabro.

— Y como por repetidas noticias q tengo viene a protejer a los de Sonoma el Capn. Fremont con 400 rifleros, me apresuro á comunicarlo a V. E. por estraordinario violento afin de q desplegando la energia y patriotismo q tantas veces ha acreditado se sirva volar si es posible aciliarme con la gente y recursos q pendan* de su arbitrio pa. salvar al pais y a las divisiones de vanguardia de la

* He probably meant *dependen.*

ruina q los amenaza; y en caso de q V. E. no pueda venir en persona a mover estos Pueblos, tenga la bondad de facultarme pª. hacerlo de acuerdo con el Sor. Prefecto, dando ordenes amplias pª. no entorpecer las medidas q tome la comandª gral a este respecto; pues a V. E. no se le oculta que sobre ella gravita todo el peso de la responsabilidad con respecto a la defensa del Departamtº.

Reitero a V. E. á nombre de la Patria y del Gobº. Supº, se sirva deferir a mis insinuaciones, en lo q hara un relevante servicio á nuestro pais natal, (espuestisimo a ser presa de nuestro enemigo comun) y el nombre de V. E. se inmortilizara, si de ello resulta la salvacion de esta preciosa parte dela Nacion a q tenemos la gloria de pertenecer.

Reitero á V. E. las protestas de mi apº y respetuosa consideracion.

Dios &.

en marcha pª. Sonoma Junio 25 de 1.846. a las 11 dela mañana.

E. S. Gob.or del Dep.to D. Pio Pico

[Rubrica]

[Translation]

Comandancia General &

Esteemed Sir

I had the honor to communicate to you at the time the outrageous attack which the adventurers of the north committed on Sonoma, with an account of all that happened. In consequence I did not hesitate to put in movement promptly what troops I could, and having done this I requested the Prefect of this Department to come to my assistance with men and what other resources he could supply. This official with his steady activity and fervent patriotism having joined me with what he had at hand, with these forces coupled with the great sacrifices we have made, we have succeeded in despatching another section in aid of the first, so today there are directed against Sonoma some one hundred and sixty men who at a favorable moment can recover that place and chastise the daring invaders. I follow with the rear guard, collecting more forces to assist those who are marching on Sonoma in case of some mishap.

As I have been repeatedly advised that Captain Frémont with 400 riflemen is approaching to protect those at Sonoma, I hasten to communicate to Your Excellency this fact by an extraordinary courier so that if possible you can fly to my assistance with what men and resources are at your command to save the country and the divisions of our vanguard from the disaster menacing them, thus making manifest your energy and patriotism which you have so often displayed. In case you cannot come yourself to stir up these towns, kindly give me the authority to do so, acting with the Prefect, and issue comprehensive orders so that the measures which the Comandancia General employs to this end be not retarded, for it cannot escape your Excellency that the entire weight of responsibility for the defense of the Department rests on it.

I repeat in the name of our Country and the Supreme Government, please defer to my suggestions, and in so doing you will perform an outstanding service to our native country (in great danger of becoming the prey of our common

enemy) and your name will be immortalized, if thereby the salvation of this precious part of our Nation to which we have the glory to belong should result.

Dios, etc.

On the march to Sonoma June 25, 1846, at eleven o'clock in the morning.

To the Governor of the Department, D. Pio Pico.

[Larkin to Buchanan, Sending Quicksilver Specimens]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence II, p. 72. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America,
Monterey, California, June 28th, 1846.

Sir.

By the American Barque "Angola," Samuel Varney, Master, of Salem, Mass. Gilbridge G. Kemball, Owner, I have shipt a small box of Californian Quick Silver Ore (or rock) consigned to my relation Rev^{d}. William M. Rogers, Boston, Mass, who has my orders to forward specimens to three different societies, yourself, Hon. Daniel Webster & Hon. Thomas H. Benton, with each specimen a letter containing directions how to prove the "Ore."

Captain Fremont was at the Quick Silver mine & has some of the Ore, as he is yet at New Helvetia, Sacramento River, I forward by present opportunity. the "Angola" should arrive in January, 1847.

I am with the highest respect
Your most obedient,
THOMAS O. LARKIN.

Hon. James Buchanan
Secretary of State
City of Washington.

[Mervine to Sloat, Reporting on Disturbed State of Affairs in California]

[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscript]

U. S. Sloop of War Cyane
Monterey Bay July 1st. 1846.

Sir,

I have the honor to report the arrival of the U. S. Sloop of War Cyane at this place, after a passage of thirty one days from Mazatlan; which was very much protracted by an unusual succession of light winds and calms.

No Mexican or any other vessels were fallen in with during the passage, except two dull sailing Vessels of War, supposed to be English, discovered in Lat. 27° 7′ N. and Long. 134° 39′ W. apparently on our trail: being desirous of ascertaining their character I shortened sail until they approached within signal distance, when our colors were hoisted: no return however of the same being made, sufficient time having elapsed for that purpose; and being anxious to proceed without further delay, made sail, and in the course of three hours and fifteen minutes lost sight of them.

I have to report, that during an exercise of the guns at Target firing, one of the 32 pounders was cracked about twelve inches from the muzzle, which renders it entirely unfit for service: believed to have been caused by the shot exploding in the Gun; which was seen to fall in many pieces but a short distance beyond the muzzle. On examination the bore of the gun was found deeply scored, which circumstance taken in connexion with the shot, accounts satisfactorily for the accident.

On consultation with Thos. O. Larkin, our Consul, upon the expediency of remaining here or proceeding to San. Francisco; he was of opinion that the disturbed state of affairs in this immediate vicinity, rendered the presence of the Cyane more necessary at this place; and in accordance with your instructions thereon, I was governed by his advice.

Authentic information has been received here from "Yerba Buena," Bay of San. Francisco, dated June 19th that on the 14th inst. a party of foreign emigrants, mostly Americans, located on the Sacrimiento, had conspired against the Mexican Government; elected one Genl Ide their leader, surprized the garrison at Sonoma, took possession of the town, and made prisoners of four Mexican Officers whom they sent off to a place of security; for the purpose of ensuring terms, in the event of being attacked and defeated.

They have issued a proclamation, setting forth their reasons for taking up arms; and inviting others to join them: declaring, at the same time, that the lives and property of the prisoners shall be respected, and of all others who confine themselves to their own individual affairs.

The insurgents have since been joined by Sutter and all the dependants of his establishment: well armed and furnished with plenty of amunition. They have adopted as the Flag of Young California, a star with a Bear in a white field with a Red border; and have enacted a code of laws for their government, which, judging from a late jury trial, in which damages were awarded and collected, the plantiff being a Mexican and the defendant an emigrant, appear to opperate efficiently and harmoniously.

The Comdg General, Castro, left here on the 17th inst. with all the forces he could muster, which with what he may be enabled to collect on the route, will probably number two hundred; for the purpose of attacking them: they are, however, believed to be strong enough to maintain their position against all the force the Government can bring against them.

The visit of Lieut Fremont of the U. S. Army with his exploring party; the landing of Lieut Gallespie of Marines, at Monterey on the 18th of April from the Cyane, who soon after joined him, together with the long continuance of the U. S. sloop of war Portsmouth in the Bay of San. Francisco, have been associated with the insurgent movements at Sonoma; and charged by the Government and people generally as the machinations of our Government: gotten up for the purpose of creating a revolution in the country. Very great excitement prevails in consequence of this belief which the present visit of the Cyane has very much augmented.

But for this insurgent demonstration at Sonoma, a civil war would, doubtless, have taken place ere this; growing out of the political preferences of the two highest Officers of the Government of the Californias, for the late and present Executives of the Supreme Government: stimulated by the transfer of the spoils of Office from the one to the other. During the administration of President Herrera, two thirds of the revenue arising from customs collected in California, was placed under the entire control of the Governor General Pio Pico, but since the accession of the present incumbent, Peredes, the whole has been transfered to the Millitary General Castro. From such unworthy motives, these two Patriots were about to cause their Soldiers, to shed each other's blood; the Governor being actually on the march for this place with troops, to put down the General; and the latter martialling his forces, to resist the threatened attack, when the news of the capture of Sonoma arrived, which, for the present has averted the catastrophe; and will, it is believed, induce both to unite their forces against the common enemy.

Herewith enclosed I send you, Sir, copies of several documents eminating from the above authorities, all of which manifest hostile feelings against us, and such are I believe, common to the whole people, at least so far as my limited opportunities have enabled me to judge.

Also enclosed are the Monthly Returns of Officers and crew for May and June.

In conclusion it affords me great pleasure to report the general good health of the officers and crew.

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Ser^{vt}
W^{M} MERVINE
Captain.

Comm^{o}. John D. Sloat.
Com^{dg} U. S. Naval Forces
Pacific Ocean.

[Gillespie to Montgomery, Requesting Surgeon for Frémont's Command]

[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts. This and the next two letters were printed in Frémont's *Memoirs*, pp. 528-29.]

Sausalito July 1st. 1846

Sir,

Capt. Fremont has requested me to address you upon the Subject of a Surgeon being ordered to his Command. The daily application of Sick for aid alone induces him to urge the necessity of his having a Medical Officer; & he hopes you will feel that he would not make the request, without being fully Satisfied your concurrence with the application Solely with reference to the return of Dr. Henderson to the Ship.

Capt. Fremont would address you himself, were he not So Much occupied, and being away from his writing utensils which are left at San Raphael.

We move to San Raphael tomorrow morning, in the mean time we hope to learn your favorable decision to the foregoing application.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully Your Ob't. Serv't
(Signed.) ARCHI. H. GILLESPIE
Lieut U. S. Marine
Corps &c. &c. &c.

To,
Capt. J. B. Montgomery
Commg. U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena

P. S. I write this in haste on board the Barque Moscow.
Respy. (Signed) ARCHI H GILLESPIE.

[Montgomery's Reply to Gillespie]

[*Id.* Copy]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena July 1st. 1846

Sir,

I have just received your note by Capt. Hall requesting in the name of Capt. Fremont, that one of the medical officers of the Portsmouth might be ordered to his command. However happy Sir I Should feel in complying with the wishes of Capt. Fremont in this respect there are reasons why in my view, it would be improper to detach one of them for an indefinite period of time from the Ship; but be pleased with my respectful regards to Capt. Fremont, to assure him of my readiness to Send one of my medical officers to his camp wherever that may be, at any time he may require his Services, and also, that I will receive such of my Sick or wounded countrymen or, others under his command as Shall Stand in need of accommodation & Medical attendance onboard the Portsmouth.

I am Sir Very Respy.
Your Ob't. Serv't.
(Signed) JNO. B. MONTGOMERY
Commanding U. S. Ship
Portsmouth.

To
Lieut A H Gillespie)
Sausalito)

[Frémont's Reply to Montgomery]

[*Id.* Copy]

Sonoma July 5th 1846

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt at this place of your two communications, dated June 23d. & 26th. the latter highly interesting in connexion with the present crisis. I trust that by the time you receive this note, the arrival of Com: Sloat will have put an end to your Neutral position.

Besides owing you my acknowledgements for the professional aid of Dr. Henderson, I am much indebted to you for the pleasure of his acquaintance, as our pursuits appear to have been Somewhat Similar. I found him with Lt. Bartlett here on my arrival two days Since.

A military organization of the force under arms was yesterday made at this place, and further than this, I have nothing of present interest to communicate to you. I shall to-day continue my road towards Sutters Fort, on the Sacramento. Foriegners from below are daily arriving at that post, and we have information that upwards of a hundred good men are now in the upper part of the Sacramento Valley, on their road from Oregon. The intelligence was brought by a party of 7 men who were in advance. Of these 5 were wounded, one very dangerously, in an attack by the indians. This man was Shot through the body and is lying at one of the Upper Settlements.

I forward this by Lt. Bartlett, who is about Starting, & to my great regret Dr. Henderson accompanies him.

I trust that in Case any thing of moment should occur, you will not find it inconsistant with your convenience & the Strict neutrality of your position to give me Some information. thanking you in the meantime for your recent kindness; I am, Sir,

Very respectfully
Your Obedient Serv't.
(Signed) J. C. FREMONT
Bt. Capt. U. S. Topl. Engineers

Capt Jn°. B. Montgomery)
U. S. Ship Portsmouth)
Bay of San Francisco)

[Larkin to Montgomery, Transmitting Letter to Frémont]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence I, p. 102. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America
Monterey, California, July 7th, 1846.

Sir.

Enclosed you have an open letter for Captain J. C. Fremont, which when you have read, you will please seal & forward to him immediately; should Mr. Gillespie be in your neighborhood, please show him this letter, should there be occasion to send the launch I would recommend him to come to Monterey in it,

that the Commodore & myself may better understand the state of affairs at the North and any contemplated movements.

Should you or Captain Fremont, by land receive any letters or writings not signed but in my writing, you will take them as authentic.

Commander
John B. Montgomery
Comdg. U. S. Ship
Portsmouth, Sn. Franco.

I am, your most obedient servant
(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN.

[Larkin to Frémont Regarding Despatches for the States]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence I, p. 105. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America
Monterey, California July 7th, 1846.

Dear Sir.

From the circumstances of the Country of which you will soon be informed, you may be induced to send to the States a few men to carry despatches, in which case you will please give the Commodore and myself, timely notice.

I by all means recommend it, no vessel will I presume leave here under 30 days for Mazatlan, making 90 to 100 days to reach Washington, even under present circumstances, she may not sail, and if she does, the letters are not safe going through Mexico. It is of every importance that letters go to our different Departments immediately, you are, better than myself, aware respecting the time of year, whether a few men can travel or not; should you not feel justified in detaching the men from your company, if its of service or necessary; I will make the demand on you for them. The Commodore wishes you at once to cooperate with him under the new state of affairs, and inform him immediately, calling on Captain Montgomery for a Launch if you need it, to bring him information of your willingness to do so, by land immediately you can send me a Courier with a letter in your handwriting, without either of our signatures, merely saying you will fall into the plan offered; you will please shew this to Mr. Gillespie.

I am Sir
your most obdt. servt.
(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN.

Captain J. C. Fremont.

[Bill Addressed to the United States, Presumably for Bear Flag Revolutionary Expenses]

[Fort Sutter Papers, No. 31. Huntington Library.]

United States

to Thos. M. Hardy Dr

1846 June 6	Merritt ferriage on Govt business	$0.50
" [illegible]	Knight	0.50
" 11	Compy. from bear creek ferriage	3.00
" "	Four horses until July 8	52.00
" 14	Merritt & Neal with 5 horses ferriage	1.50
" 16	Comp. from Sonoma with prisoners A beave & other provisions	12.00
" 23	Comp. going to Sonoma burning corrall	5.00
July 8	Comp. returning from Sonoma onions &c taken from the Garden	15.00
	Thos Tucker A horse on Govt. business	2.00
	N. Bradshaw " " " " "	2.00
	N. Scott " " " " "	2.00
	N. Scott " " " " "	2.00
		$97.50

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Paloú, O. F. M. Translated into English from the Manuscript in the Archives of Mexico. Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926. 4 vols. 8°. Maps, illustrations and facsimiles.

Father Paloú, biographer of Junípero Serra and co-laborer with Serra in the founding of the earliest Franciscan missions of the Californias, was already engaged in recording the annals of those missions when the nation destined to inherit his legacy was as yet unborn.

These annals, generally known as Paloú's *Noticias*, are contemporary records of the beginnings of the first settlements on the Pacific shores of what is now the United States. They describe in full detail the first inland explorations in California, the first overland expeditions into this region, the discovery of San Francisco Bay, the establishment of the first missions and presidios and pueblos, and the diplomacy, hardships and dangers which these achievements entailed.

These records, written at Mission Dolores in San Francisco and at Carmel, were deposited in the Apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico City with the understanding that they were to be used in furthering the interests of the California missions and that they were not to be published without careful editing and expurgation of such passages as might have offended certain administrators and certain religious orders. They were not published for many decades, and they have never before been translated into English.

The original manuscript of the *Noticias* being apparently no longer in existence, Professor Bolton has chosen for the basis of his translation the Figueroa manuscript, which purports to be a faithful copy. The work is extended by a lot of hitherto unpublished correspondence relating to the period — letters of Paloú, Crespi, Galvez, Fages, and others. This correspondence throws some new light upon the importance of Paloú's own career, not only as an historian, but as an actor in the scenes he so modestly and quietly portrays. Paloú is seen as a figure of importance, second only to Serra in the California enterprises.

The editor should take rightful pride in this monumental work, and the Historical Society should share in this, for it was through the support of one of our vice-presidents, Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, that the publication of these volumes was made possible. It was at an early meeting of this Society that the subject was first brought up; and, fifty-three years ago, the first publication by this Society was a small edition of Paloú's *Noticias* in the Spanish, edited by John T. Doyle.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774. By Herbert Eugene Bolton. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927. lxiv+402 pp. Maps, illustrations and facsimiles. Leaf of errata.

Crespi was the most vivid and interesting of the missionary-diarists whose works have survived. He also had the greatest opportunities, being the first missionary to enter California, accompanying Portolá, Fages, and Perez.

The diaries of these three expeditions constitute the bulk of this work, and Professor Bolton has furnished the first adequate biographical knowledge of Crespi in the introduction to this work and the letters and editorial notes he has included. The diaries themselves were a part of Professor Bolton's "Paloú," but are here published together with the added material to build a richly deserved monument to Crespi himself.

A Pioneer of 1850, George Willis Read, 1819-1880. Edited by Georgia Willis Read. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1927. xxvi+185 pp. Portrait and 21 illustrations from old prints. Folding map. 8°.

This book, as the sub-title reads, is "the record of a journey overland from Independence, Missouri, to Hangtown (Placerville), California, in the spring of 1850, with a letter from the Diggings in October of the same year and an account of a journey from New York to California, via Panama, in 1862, capture by the Confederate raider *Alabama*, etc., and a visit to the Nevada silver mining district in 1863." The record is notable in that it is a story of the overland trail, full of interest in spite of the absence of thrilling events along the way. There were no attacks by Indians, not even narrow escapes from them; there were no deaths in the company of thirty, nor any serious illnesses; but the enterprise itself was a Great Adventure, as were all journeys of those days west of the Mississippi. It did not lack discomforts *almost* unbearable, nor obstacles *almost* insurmountable, but all were overcome before they reached the point of disaster. The writer of this journal, who had given up a medical practice to engage in this undertaking, was chosen leader of the company, and one suspects that it was the faithful discharge of this heavy responsibility which enabled the party to escape the tragedies which befell so many others. His foresight in setting out as early in the season as possible, before the grass should be cropped by the thousands of draft animals who would pass over the trail a little later; his sagacity in provisioning the company; his good judgment in selecting the means of transportation; his wisdom in the choice of routes; his skill as a physician in prescribing for such ailments as arose and, above all, his firmness and tact in settling the disputes which are sure to arise when men are compelled to close association for long periods, mark his traits for successful leadership. Notwithstanding Dr. Read's fine physique, brave philosophy and sanguine disposition, reading between the lines of his daily notes, one can discover how heavy the burden was. It is not surprising that he succumbed to illness soon after the goal of Placerville was reached. During this period of

enforced inactivity he wrote a long letter to a friend in the East, describing in greater detail than in the daily jottings some phases of the journey. To this he added a truthful picture of the Diggings as he found them and sobering advice to those who were feeling the pull of the Golden State. This letter, so well supplementing the journal, is included in the book.

In the summer of 1862 Dr. Read returned to the East, and in December of that year sailed from New York to California by way of the Isthmus. The vessel which bore him, the *Ariel*, was captured by the raider, *Alabama*, Captain Semmes, and all on board suffered disagreeable experiences. The delay in the case of Dr. Read proving disastrous to his financial enterprises in the West, he engaged in the practice of his profession soon after his return to California and was a successful and much sought-after physician; but mining still lured him, and 1863 saw him visiting the silver mines of Nevada. Letters describing events there form the latter part of the book.

In 1869 he returned east by the transcontinental railroad and remained there until his death in 1880. He was a man of fine and sterling character, of good education and he possessed an appreciation of the unique scenes he was passing through. Although the notes of his overland journey were necessarily brief, they were not reminiscences, but have the value of being made upon the spot. He saw and described the salient points of the country he passed through and of the people he encountered, those who hurried by him on the road, flying on to almost certain disaster in their haste to grasp the fortune which awaited them; and the discouraged ones who had turned their backs on El Dorado and were dragging their weary way back to the home they had left with such high hopes. Most interesting of all his journal, perhaps, are the records of what he saw of those who had travelled the route the year before: the graves by the wayside, the abandoned wagons and provisions, the bones and carcasses of animals who had perished of hunger, thirst or poisonous water.

The illustrations have been carefully selected. To readers of *Jones' Pantoscope* in the last two numbers of this *Quarterly* a few are of particular interest. They supply some of the Pantoscope scenes which are missing, notably Scott's Bluffs, Chimney Rock and Devil's Gate.

A full index, a bibliography and a folding map add to the value of the book, and the editor, a posthumous daughter of Dr. Read, has further enriched it with copious and interesting notes. HELEN THROOP PURDY.

California and the Nation, 1850-1869. A Study of the Relations of a Frontier Community with the Federal Government. By Joseph Ellison. University of California Publications in History, Vol. 16, pp. xi, 1-258. Berkeley, 1927.

This volume constitutes a very excellent treatise covering the relations between California and the federal government during the first two decades after the acquisition of this territory by the United States. Dr. Ellison has divided his work into two parts: Part I, A Decade and a Half of Federal Legislation,

is devoted almost exclusively to matters antedating the Civil War; Part II is given over to Civil War Issues. About three-fourths of the volume (177 pp.) is used in the consideration of the first part.

This is one of several pieces of work now being done by western scholars in tracing the development of frontier communities and joining these movements up with history of similar political and economic movements throughout the country as a whole. The study of local history is most worth while when local issues are seen in their true relationship to greater national or world movements. Many of the phases taken up in this study have already been handled by other scholars, but Dr. Ellison is the first to publish a synthesis of these works, and this, together with his own extensive research, makes his study very welcome to the student of California history.

After a short introductory chapter the question of land titles is taken up in three chapters: Mexican Land Grants (II), Federal Land Grants to California (III), and the Mineral Land Question in California (IV). The other four chapters of Part I are given over to the Indian Question (V), the Civil Fund and the Mint (VI), the Vigilance Committee and Federal Interference (VII), and Means of Communication and Transportation (VIII). In his chapter dealing with Federal Land Grants the author is critical of the action of the California officials, which he says "deserves little credit, to say the least about it" (p. 51). Great care should be taken before passing judgment in condemnation of men in a former generation. Honest differences in opinion due to lack of information both at Sacramento and Washington may help to explain many actions on the part of these men which otherwise would be construed as attempts to oppose or evade the law. Part II, dealing with Civil War Issues, especially Chapter IX and X on the Pacific Republic and Loyalty and Disloyalty, together with Chapter VII on the Vigilance Committee of 1856, constitute the strongest part of the volume, for Dr. Ellison's extensive use of federal and state documentary material and his wide use of the contemporary newspapers has made it possible for him to add much to this very interesting phase of California's political history.

Attention should probably be called to a few errors and omissions that have been noticed by the reviewer. The name of Jedediah S. Smith should not have been omitted from the list of trappers and hunters mentioned on page 1. To say that the "Bear Flag revolt was the fruition" of a long nursed project seems too strong a statement. The men who took part in it did not need any long period of preparation to spur them to action; in fact, their lack of plans indicates that their action was more spontaneous than otherwise. The Americans who had "intrenched themselves" in California were not the leaders in this episode. Farnham is given as "Farnheim" in the bibliography (p. 241).

A more serious criticism arises from the fact that the many excellent footnotes fail at times to give adequate credit to others who may have pioneered the trail through the maze of federal and state documents. Each scholar wisely builds upon foundations already laid, but should give credit even though the earlier work be less adequate or worthy. In the seventy-two footnotes of

Chapter III there is no indication that use was made of a doctor's dissertation which devoted one whole chapter and parts of two others to the consideration of this same subject. In note 56 this study is mentioned as possibly having some bearing upon one incident. Likewise one looks in vain through the seventy-seven footnotes of Chapter V, on the Indian Question, for mention of Dr. William H. Ellison's study, "The United States Indian Policy in California, 1846-1860." This study is listed in the bibliography and no doubt furnished assistance to the author.

In the last few pages the author gives a very useful summary of his study, pointing out that in many respects California was an example of "the typical self-confident, self-assertive, dissatisfied frontier" which draws heavily upon a paternalistic federal government. In other respects her position was unique due to her rapid growth following the gold discovery, the peculiar situation in Congress at the time of admission, her remoteness from the settled states, and the rapid readjustment of the Indian population. All these caused unusual frontier problems in the solution of which new ideas were often evolved, which later furnished precedents for action in other states. While California's population was cosmopolitan in character and her attitude toward the issue of slavery and secession was for a time uncertain, the inherent loyalty of the state was soon demonstrated.

This work of Dr. Ellison is well worth while and should be in every library, both because of its contribution to California history and to the larger field of United States history as well.

OWEN C. COY.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

At the September meeting of the Society, held on Tuesday, the 27th, 1927, at the Clift Hotel, the speaker was Mr. John Howell; his subject — "Robert Louis Stevenson, Californian."

After briefly reviewing the story of Stevenson's life preceding his arrival in California in 1879, Mr. Howell told of his stay in Monterey, and the friendships he formed there with Jules Simoneau, Dr. Heintz and others; of his life in San Francisco, and his marriage to Mrs. Lloyd Osbourne at the house of their life-long friends, Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Williams, to whom *The Silverado Squatters* was dedicated.

Strange to say, with the exception of a part of *Prince Otto* (written in Oakland) and a few articles for the Monterey *Californian*, Stevenson wrote very little during his stay in California; however, he did carry away with him impressions and memories of places and people which served him to good purpose in his later writings. The coast of Monterey was used as the setting for *Treasure Island*, and *Faces on the City Front (The Wrecker)* was drawn from San Francisco memories. In the latter book Stevenson describes his meeting with Charles Warren Stoddard, the California poet and essayist.

The talk was supplemented by photographs and facsimiles of letters and manuscripts relating to Stevenson in California. Among the most interesting of the facsimiles was the poem entitled "Not I." This was written by Stevenson for his little stepson, who was the proud possessor of a small printing press from which was issued *The Surprise*. Today there are but two copies known of this four-page newspaper published and printed by the youthful Sam Lloyd Osbourne. One of these formed the star item in the New York auction sale of the George Barr McCutcheon collection of Stevenson, and realized the high price of fourteen hundred dollars.

In conclusion, Mr. Howell proposed that the Stevenson Fellowship renew its activities and on their birthday pilgrimage to Portsmouth Square place a wreath on the Stevenson Memorial.

There were about sixty persons present.

MARY ESTELL CURRY.

The October luncheon meeting of the Society was held at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, the 25th. The speaker was Mrs. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, and her subject, "Social Life in Spanish California."

She took as her milestones in the life of the individual, the ceremonies and customs attendant on baptism, marriage and death. In describing each, she gave a background of customs and manners in the community that surrounded the individual in the stages of childhood, youth and old age.

The training and discipline of childhood and the feudalistic structure of the family were outlined, to show the route by which was developed the courtesy, loyalty and reverence for parents, so universally observed by all visitors. The

mode of life and the native courtesy led naturally to the universal spirit of hospitality. Visiting from rancho to rancho, dances, and outdoor sports were the outstanding features of social intercourse.

In describing the ceremonies and festivities incident to a marriage, Mrs. Sanchez quoted from General Vallejo's account of his own marriage and immediate separation from his bride by the call of military duty.

Passing on, the speaker described the patriarchal position of the elders in the family, the deference paid them both in the household and on public occasions, and their relations to one another in the life of the community.

The Society was fortunate in having this sympathetic and well coördinated presentation of an ever-charming phase of California history.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

At the luncheon of the Society held on November 29, 1927, at the Clift Hotel, Mr. Anson S. Blake (who substituted for the announced speaker, Prof. W. L. Jepson, who was ill) read a brilliant and illuminating account of that dramatic era of San Francisco's history — 1846-1848 — which has been so slighted by the historians, but on which data was recently made available through the public exhibition of pictures, documents and correspondence, when the California Historical Society celebrated the Sesqui-Centennial of the founding of San Francisco.

Briefly sketching the beginning of the permanent settlement of white men on the site of San Francisco, by the Spanish, under the Friars Palóu and Cambon, the building of the Mission Dolores, and the occupation by the Presidio — the stirring events of the seventy years of Spanish and Mexican occupation — Mr. Blake then pictured for the Society the life and activities of the small group of energetic inhabitants of the slopes above the cove of Yerba Buena during the period beginning July, 1846, at the time of the American occupation, and ending in February, 1849, with the tidal wave of immigration brought to these shores by the news of the discovery of gold.

"The growth and stability of Yerba Buena as it emerged into the village of San Francisco, presents much more in the way of a substantial contribution to the subsequent history of the growth of the city of San Francisco than did the mighty row over the military government of the State; we can see characteristics and modes of life, whose origin has usually been attributed to the Argonauts, well established in the days that preceded their arrival. While the village was submerged by the tide of immigration that swept in on it in 1849, its sturdy inhabitants formed the nucleus of the political and commercial activities that began at once," said Mr. Blake.

The germ of the commercial city of San Francisco was this little settlement above the cove of Yerba Buena: up to 1846 it contained about fifty buildings and its permanent population numbered about one hundred and fifty. With the American occupation, and the organization of a stable form of government,

the population increased rapidly. It is estimated that in January, 1849, there were two thousand permanent inhabitants.

Following the fortunes and activities of the people during this period: Business was brisk, the town thriving. From the files of the *California Star*, the first newspaper published, the life of the town can be followed. In January, 1847, the name of the town was changed from Yerba Buena to San Francisco; subsequently the town was surveyed and laid out into blocks and lots; law courts were established; a public school was erected; mail delivery to eastern points was instituted, and a city council was elected. In 1848 the records showed imports of one million dollars in goods, a like amount in corn, and exports of two million in gold dust.

In closing, Mr. Blake said: "Such they were when the cry of gold, gold, in the streets electrified the town as it did the rest of the world a few months later; and like the rest of the world they stampeded, as might have been expected. Imbued, however, with the idea of the future greatness of their community, it took them less time to analyze the relation of this new source of wealth to their corner of the earth, and to settle down and make use of their enlarged opportunities."

There were about forty-five persons present at this meeting.

MARY ESTELL CURRY.

NEW MEMBERS

Bocqueraz, Leon, San Francisco
Brown, Mrs. Edmund N., San Francisco
Chesebrough, A. S., Piru
Coleman, Miss Persis H., San Francisco
Connick, A. E., Eureka
Daughters of California Pioneers, San Francisco
Dutton, Mrs. S. E., San Francisco
Dyer, Mrs. H. P., Saratoga
Evans, W. B., Venice
Fitzhugh, Mrs. William M., San Francisco
Ford, Tirey L., San Francisco
Green, Mrs. Charles E., San Francisco
Hagner, Francis R., M. D., Washington, D. C.
Hunsaker, William J., Los Angeles
Lent, George H., San Francisco
Livermore, Norman B., San Francisco
McClatchy, Miss Emily E., San Francisco
Morrison, Mrs. A. F., San Francisco
Ogden, Miss Adele, Berkeley
O'Neill, F. Gordon, San Francisco
Peltier, George W., Sacramento
Pollard, W. L., Los Angeles
Potter, Mrs. Thomas Mitchell, Piedmont
Read, Miss Georgia W., New York City
Seale, Mrs. Henry W., San Francisco
Taylor, Mrs. William Hinckley, San Francisco
Tourny, George, San Francisco
Tuthill, J. B. T., Saratoga
Watkins, Mrs. James Thomas, San Francisco